THE NATION

JANUARY 8, 1973 50 cents

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THE LIMITATIONS OF PLUCK
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William Gould

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EDITORIALS

Military Folly

The current saturation bombing of North Vietnam has been denounced as barbarous, inhumane, cruel beyond measure and so on through the full range of civilized condemnation. All this is true and fully justified—and quite irrelevant. It means nothing to Richard Nixon, on vacation in Florida and sending his sidekick Bebe Rebozo across a public dining room to ask an 11-year-old girl to dance. He spoke to his little partner about her school work and she found him charming. Publicity like that is worth to him all the apothecary's civet.

The military aspect is the only one that counts with a President thus capable of dissociating his personal life from his public actions, and who in the latter sphere has no interest in the obloquy he brings down on his country. Can he win the war by these means? That is the question. The evidence is that he cannot. The ratio of losses to sorties flown is still bearable, but will not be for long. Bombing at the present level and by the present means has no military objective; it is almost entirely terror bombing, like Goering's aerial assault on London before he was deterred by the Luftwaffe's losses. The pretense that the B-52s are being used against military targets is untenable. In *The New York Times* (December 26, 1972) one officer conceded that the B-52 strikes before Christmas Eve had not always been accurate. "We've hit a few targets we didn't mean to hit, like the Gia Lam airport in Hanoi," he said. He believed that the bombs had been targeted on a thermal power plant, but they landed on the airport, about a mile away. No doubt other bombs, whether or not aimed at plausible targets, have fallen in residential sections or on hospitals, as reported by Hanoi. We shall learn more about this when the peace delegation, which includes Telford Taylor, returns to the United States. General Taylor, it will be recalled, is an expert on war crimes.

The earlier B-52 forays were milk runs. Last November a B-52 was brought down, but landed in Thailand. The current series of losses (fourteen, by Air Force count, up to December 29) is something new. More than 100 B-52s and hundreds of fighter-bombers have been attacking North Vietnam daily. The absurd allegation that these were preventive strikes against another North Vietnamese offensive was soon abandoned. According to the Associated Press, the large-scale use of B-52s in the North was "in hopes that their devastating carpet bombing could deliver a final crippling blow to the North Vietnamese and force them to accept a peace settlement." A settlement, that is, which Nixon would regard as "fair and just." But the Vietnamese, like the British and Germans before them, have proved that bombing, however relentless, does not bring a people to its knees.

There is also the matter of American personnel. Up to, but not including December 27, the USAF and the Navy acknowledged fifty-seven airmen missing in action. Some are dead, but a considerable number are in North Vietnamese hands, augmenting the POWs for whom Mr. Nixon has shown such solicitude. This can't go on much longer before even the wives of career officers, organized under U. S. Government auspices, begin to turn jaundiced eyes on the Commander in Chief and his not very strenuous efforts to bring their men home.

All but the mentally retarded must realize by now that the President is using his air armada not as a discriminating weapon of war but in lieu of diplomacy. Having turned thumbs down on Kissinger's objective of victory by negotiation, he is redoubling the bombing of enemy cities. Kissinger, celebrated for his powerful mind and compelling personality, trails his master into subtropical sanctuary and follows his example of seeking refuge from the cares of state by watching football.

Fanaticism, Santayana said, is when you redouble your efforts, having forgotten your aim. Mr. Nixon has the distinction of applying the maxim to the art of war. As a side effect, he has obliterated the traditional American ideal of not allowing the means to eclipse the end, even in wartime. The one slight consolation is that, militarily, his policy makes no sense, and he is exposing himself to the country and the world for what he is.

Top Secret

Never noted for candor, President Nixon has imposed a blackout on his intensified bombardment of North Vietnam, so that even high military officers can only conjecture as to what is going on. In a telegram to Herbert G. Klein, Nixon's communications director, W. E. Chilton III, publisher of the *Charleston* (W. Va.) *Gazette*, lays it on the line: "President Nixon has now orchestrated the Vietnam war to the stage where the American people—a supposedly free people with a free press and an open government—will have to get information about downed U.S. aircraft and missing U.S. airmen from Hanoi. . . . The Nixon news ban is aimed at Americans, not at the North Vietnamese. . . ."

This language is not metaphorical; it is the literal truth. Mr. Nixon is directing the present aerial attack as a kind of American warlord—something new in the country's history as it approaches its second centennial. He is in personal command and is conducting the war in utter secrecy, with the aid of misleading press statements, inspired leaks, rumors and obfuscations, all designed to keep the American people bemused and happy with their Christmas goodies, the football playoffs and all the diversions government, business and the media provide.

Aside from moral and military considerations, a basic outrage is inherent, under the American system of government, in permitting one man to carry on a war, unauthorized by Congress, with no accounting, no briefings, no information—nothing by which the ordinary citizen can judge the wisdom or folly of what is being done. For one man, however gifted—and Mr. Nixon is not the ultimate in that respect—to dispose of the taxpayers' money and the lives of soldiers and sailors without accountability is repugnant to what remains of the American way of life.

We know nothing of the diplomatic elements in the present impasse, except what Dr. Kissinger, at the President's behest, has chosen to tell us. All we have is an ex parte, black-and-white account. We can put together bits and pieces, but still no coherent picture emerges. Militarily

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the mystery deepens. We do not even know, for a certainty, the number of aircraft lost, how many airmen are missing in action, and much else that was formerly routinely revealed.

The blackout is so impenetrable that an experienced Kremlinologist like Victor Zorza is reduced to a kind of divination by numbers. In Kissinger's October 26th press conference he barely mentioned the President in passing—three times in an hour of talking. When Kissinger broke the news of the failure of the negotiations, he talked about as long and kept bringing the President into his discourse—fourteen times in all. A variety of verbs were used—the President "decided," "ordered," "reiterated," "made clear," "stated conditions," and so on. Zorza asks whether Kissinger was trying to give the impression that he was only a messenger boy, in contrast to the impression of personal responsibility and initiative he had given previously.

The press, with few exceptions, has taken the blackout tamely. The Associated Press had gleaned some information from anonymous military sources, but as far as we at *The Nation* have been able to learn, it has not challenged the President's right to run the war in secrecy at its most crucial juncture. For publishers, editors and readers alike, Mr. Nixon's attitude is humiliating, demeaning and dangerous. One recalls that after his reelection he compared the American people to children.

There must be a showdown, and it will come—if it comes—when the Congress reconvenes. If the Congress fails to do its duty, then we can expect to live under what amounts to a military dictatorship.

Model for a Whistle Blower

Gordon W. Rule, in one respect, would seem a man unlikely to launch an all-out assault on the military-industrial complex. As director of the procurement control and clearance section of the Naval Materiel Command he knows what goes on; on the other hand, he rose from lieutenant to captain in the Regular Navy and in the latter grade returned to active duty in the Korean War. The naval tradition of obeying orders and keeping one's mouth shut must be strong in him. But in Rule's makeup there is something stronger—his integrity as a citizen and a civil servant. For some years he has been finding fault with aspects of the $6 billion to $8 billion in naval contracts he reviews each year. Toward the end of 1972, he had the temerity to criticize, before one of Senator Proxmire's committees, President Nixon's appointment of Roy L. Ash as director of the Office of Management and Budget. He recalled Eisenhower's warning against the military-industrial complex and said that the late President "must be twitching in his grave."

This was taken as insubordination and the Navy's reaction was swift. Adm. Isaac C. Kidd, Jr., chief of the Materiel Command, demanded Captain Rule's retirement. Rule refused. Thereupon the Navy relieved him of his job, reassigning him as a "consultant" to the Logistics Management School at the Anacostia Naval Station.

Roy Ash was highly successful as president of Litton Industries as long as its chief business was electronics. He and the company have been conspicuously unsuccess-

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The Nation is published weekly (except biweekly in July and August) by the Nation Company and copyright 1973 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Price: One year $15; two years, $27.50. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give five weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION Volume 216 No. 2

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ful since it transformed itself into a giant conglomerate and incurred about $400 million in cost overruns on a contract to build five helicopter landing ships for the Navy. There is no need to repeat the details of this and other procurement scandals: it is all in Rep. Les Aspin's article, "Another Pentagon Bailout: The Litton Ship Fiasco" (*The Nation,* December 11, 1972). Even Admiral Kidd, who was trying to make Rule walk the plank, admitted before the House Armed Services Committee that "our record of turning out ships on time and at cost over the last several years has been poor," yet Ash, who made a five-figure contribution to Nixon's campaign fund, was rewarded with a pivotal White House post in which, conceivably, he might indirectly benefit Litton in its negotiations with the Navy.

The Rule firing recalls the case of A. Ernest Fitzgerald, who was dismissed by the Air Force after he protested cost overruns on the Lockheed C-5A transport plane. Commenting on Rule's experience, Fitzgerald said, "The brazenness with which they do these things is indicative of the fact that they think they can get away with anything." Representative Aspin commented that Rule was fired for "his honest statement . . . that Roy Ash should not be head of the office of Management and Budget and that Ash's company, Litton Industries, is doing a miserable job on two giant shipbuilding contracts." And Senator Proxmire called the Navy's action "a blatant effort to punish and discipline a man for performing his duty as an American citizen."

However the affair ends, Mr. Rule can be proud of himself, and Americans who still believe in integrity in government will hail him with admiration and gratitude. If there were a Distinguished Service Medal for whistle blowers, he would have earned it.

In the Spirit

A prominent New York philanthropist and devoted peace advocate—known to *The Nation* for his good deeds over a period of many years—told us the other day that he had acknowledged Christmas cards this season with a note of thanks, but added that he could not, in good conscience, wish anyone a "Merry Christmas" in return.

His scruple stimulated a reverie on Christmas, 1973. Assuming (which is not difficult) that there is no peace by then, let us suppose that all members of peace groups determined to acknowledge Christmas cards in the manner indicated, and notified Hallmark of their intention. That company might be moved to issue a card for the purpose, to supplement their current line of nostalgic euphoria, which under the circumstances has become brutal if not blasphemous.

Suppose further that the peace groups were to inform all department stores that their adherents, instead of giving Christmas presents, were contributing to the relief of Vietnamese, North and South. Presumably those stores—from Bloomingdale's to Nieman-Marcus—would be moved to advertise health-and-comfort kits that could be sent to the victims in the name of a person on whom otherwise a present would have been bestowed.

Perhaps it wouldn't work, but what *has* worked? The suggestion, however, raises a basic issue: when preoccupation with the Christmas spirit, along with the fact that the Congress is *not* in session, is seized as an opportunity to launch a savage bombing in Vietnam, are we not under a Christmas, if not a Christian, obligation to refrain? Should we not rather compose a Christmas card for Mr. and Mrs. Nixon and Dr. Kissinger, to be sent to Key Biscayne, Camp David, San Clemente, or wherever they choose to hide when next the season of hope and fellowship comes around? It might be an engraving of Hanoi in flames, with an appropriate inscription; as, for example, "Bearing Gifts We Journey Afar."

We Will Return

At about 10:30 on the evening of November 3, a weary but smiling Rev. Andrew Young, black candidate for Georgia's Fifth Congressional District, climbed up on a stage in downtown Atlanta, and announced his victory. On January 3, he took his seat in Washington, adding a strong liberal voice to the new House of Representatives.

His victory was a progressive triumph against the most daunting odds. He was a black man in a district with a strong white majority, and a liberal Democrat in a state that went overwhelmingly for Nixon. His white Republican opponent had far greater financial resources and a media campaign that dominated the district's billboards and television. Only a few weeks before Election Day, court-ordered school bussing had been announced for Atlanta, and on Election Day, during peak voting hours, Atlanta's black community was swept by a driving rain. It was a victory achieved against all the "realistic" predictions.

But confounding the realists has been the Reverend Young's stock in trade ever since the day in 1960 when he left the National Council of Churches to join the newly created Southern Christian Leadership Conference and work with Dr. Martin Luther King. Young soon rose to be executive director of SCLC and became one of Dr. King's most trusted advisers. He was one of the top strategists in the Birmingham and Selma campaigns and was deeply involved in the achievement of the landmark legislation of the early sixties. He was one of the first to focus on the potential that existed for black and interracial politics in the South.

It was not a surprise, therefore, that after Dr. King's assassination in 1968, he turned to the opportunities that the ballot provided for progress in the South. In 1970 he made his first attempt on Congress, winning the Democratic nomination for the Fifth District seat. Even though he lost the general election that year, he demonstrated an ability to reach many white voters, while also maintaining his appeal to the black community.

It was this capacity that made the difference last November. Young won about 30 per cent of the white vote, one of the highest white percentages ever attained by a black man in any election in recent American history. Even whites who disagreed with his views admitted his sincerity and competence. As one upper-middle-class Atlantan put it, "I disagree with him on 'the issues,' but frankly, I think he is probably more competent than his opponent. He is a most impressive fellow."

At the same time, Young could inspire thousands of blacks to march to the polls, despite the tremendous

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pessimism that existed in regard to the national situation. In many precincts Young received far more votes, both black and white, than were cast that day for Senator McGovern. He had, of course, earned credentials over the years that impressed not only moderate leaders but even the militant black students of Atlanta's university community. He has without a doubt marched down more dusty roads and stood in front of more angry mobs than any other member of Congress, not only in the historic campaigns of Selma and Birmingham but in the forgotten struggles of Albany, St. Augustine and scores of others across the South.

As a black Congressman from a white district, Young now has the opportunity and the desire to tackle the issue of polarization head-on, and become an advocate not for blacks alone but for the legitimate social and economic grievances of all his constitutents. Several weeks after his election, I asked him how he saw the coming period. He answered: "I think we have to find ways to escape what we now recognize was an essentially paternalistic approach to the problems of the black community. We have to find the kinds of program that deal with the structural issues of poverty and unemployment by linking together the needs of black people and the needs of the rest of society. A rapid transit system for example, which everyone needs, can actually create more employment than some special training program for jobs that ultimately turn out not to exist. I think this is the direction in which we must head."

It is the kind of mediating role which Young enjoys. He is an experienced labor mediator and has dealt with racial tension in low-wage factories as well as affluent suburbs. He is frequently called on to resolve clashes between Atlanta's black and white blue-collar workers.

By winning this election, the Reverend Young made good the prophecy of a previous Southern black Congressman, who in his farewell address before the turn of the century proudly asserted, "We will return." He is now faced with vindicating the far more compelling prophecy of his mentor, Dr. King, that the Deep South can indeed be transformed by nonviolent action. It is a task very well suited for a man like Andrew Young, who has just been sent to Congress by a constituency many of whose members could not even vote when he began organizing, only twelve years ago. ANDREW LEVISON

Harvey Swados

HEW has just issued a massive study, "Work in America," which echoes the increasingly familiar "blue-collar blues" about the bored, alienated assembly-line worker. Hard on its heels comes another study, the product of a year's research by the American Jewish Committee's "National Project on Ethnic America," which yields the not quite startling conclusion that four out of five young blue-collar workers are less than happy with their jobs.

Fifteen years ago, a young novelist, Harvey Swados, wrote a piece for *The Nation* ("The Myth of the Happy Worker," August 17, 1957) in which he summarized some of his experiences as a metal finisher at the Ford Motor Co., experiences that provided the background for *On the Line*, a book described by one reviewer as "one of the finest treatments of the laboring man in recent fiction." Frequently reprinted and anthologized, the article said most of what needed to be said—and is now being said—about the growing alienation of the young blue-collar worker. Recently Harvey Swados died, at 52, an abrupt and tragic end to a brilliant writing career.

A current dogma has it that American intellectuals are to be seriously chided for their lack of interest in labor. But the other side of the story is the labor movement's lack of interest in American intellectuals, even when they write about labor and working men and women. In the 1930s it was different: intellectuals then took an active interest in labor and played key roles in the great organizing drives. But after World War II, and more particularly after the merger of the AFL and CIO and the ascendancy of Meany, the collaboration of the earlier period tapered off. Harvey Swados was a conspicuous example of the intellectual who has a deep interest in labor and its problems. His death should remind the columnists and pundits that labor is itself in part responsible for whatever lack of interest intellectuals have shown in its activities.

A Rockefeller's Future

The political time schedule John D. Rockefeller IV had been planning to keep was rearranged on November 7 by the first governor in West Virginia's history to be reelected to a second four-year term. Republican Gov. Arch A. Moore, Jr. defeated the Democratic secretary of state decisively: 407,870 to 336,934. Numerous reasons have been dredged up to interpret the Moore victory, which probably was a bigger surprise to outsiders than to Rockefeller or most West Virginians.

The coal industry, particularly strippers whose ravishments he wanted to abolish, fought Rockefeller furiously. Discredited warlords of the old Wally Barron gang —he's the former governor, now serving a twelve-year sentence at a federal penitentiary in Texas for bribing a jury—again put self above party, figuring their futures would be brighter under a Republican head of state than under Rockefeller.

Some observers contend that the carpetbagger issue, cannily exploited by Governor Moore, was never effectively blunted. One of the Governor's television spots showed professional actors in different Joe Citizen roles along a New York City street, replying to the question: What would be your opinion of a West Virginian running for governor of New York? (How many West Virginians would recall that less than a decade ago a young, rich, attractive candidate from Massachusetts did run for the U.S. Senate in New York and won?) Although Rockefeller collected 120,000 more votes than Senator McGovern, his fight was uphill all the way.

Another school of thought ascribes the Rockefeller downfall to blunders committed by him and his staff, to poor coordination with the state's Congressional delegation—four veteran House Democrats and Sen. Jennings Randolph buried their opponents—and to a disorganized campaign in general. It is further charged that Rockefeller's advertising raised no issues that placed his rival on the defensive. Sharon Rockefeller, daughter of Sen. Charles

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Percy (R., Ill.), believes her husband had to do penance for his name; thereafter establish, by staying around, that he wasn't using the adopted state as a launching pad to higher office, and then all would be fine.

With due respect to these theories and many others, there is a simpler explanation of what happened: Governor Moore deserved re-election on the strength of his first-term performance, especially when it was put beside the abysmal record of his two Democratic predecessors. Moore isn't perfect. He is the total political animal. His word is valueless and his ego boundless. People who know him intimately aren't charmed.

But the areas of government in which Governor Moore shone were those in which his two predecessors were most derelict. Hanky-panky was substantially reduced. Capable, honest, hard-working administrators were by and large appointed to key positions. Most important, the Governor proved himself a leader and displayed an amazing attention to detail and fidelity to duty. In short, he gave the state efficient, respectable executive government for a change, and enough voters appreciated this welcome novelty to re-elect him.

Two ironies arise from the election. But for Rockefeller, Moore would probably not have been permitted to seek a second term. In 1969, Rockefeller not only endorsed a constitutional amendment authorizing gubernatorial succession but also prevailed upon a reluctant Democratic legislature to allow the Republican incumbent to succeed himself.

The second irony is that Governor Moore, a member of the House of Representatives in 1968 when he announced for governor, sought that office originally because he was convinced that it was just about the only way he could enter the Senate, where he hopes to wind up his public career (*The Nation,* October 25, 1971). At the time he ran for governor he couldn't succeed himself. Now he's in for four more years and must match his accomplishments of the past four to have much chance of realizing his ambition. No matter how impressive his second-term achievements, in 1976 he must either tackle the invincible Sen. Robert C. Byrd or do something no politician relishes—drop out of the public limelight for two years before asking voters to make him Senator.

Meanwhile, Rockefeller is alive and well—and residing in West Virginia, pre-election predictions by detractors to the contrary notwithstanding. Two days after his political timetable required readjusting, he was doing what he had been doing throughout the last year, touring the state, shaking hands and thanking the faithful. His long-range plans include cooperating with whoever wishes to use his services to improve West Virginia's much too coal-oriented economy, taking an active hand in state Democratic Party affairs, and running for governor again in 1976.

W. E. CHILTON III

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE LIMITATIONS OF PLUCK

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN
Mr. Bernstein, associate professor in the Department of History, Stanford University, edited Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration *(Quadrangle Books). He is at present working on a book about the Truman era.*

"Do your duty and history will do you justice."
—*Harry S. Truman*

Nearly three decades have passed since that day in April 1945 when Franklin D. Roosevelt died and his little known Vice President, Harry S. Truman, became the thirty-third President of the United States. Awed by the responsibility and still standing in the shadow of Roosevelt, Truman told reporters: "Boys, if you ever pray, pray for me now. I don't know whether you . . . ever had a load of hay fall on you, but when they told me . . . what had happened, I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me. I've got the most terribly responsible job a man ever had." The folksy, cliché-ridden sentiments seemed to reveal much about the man—his lack of confidence, his plain origins, his unsophisticated nature.

His life, despite some early reversals and minor adversities, had been a quiet success story. His advancement was marked by pluck, tenacity, enthusiam and luck. Raised in small-town America, he had been a bookish and respectful youngster whose weak eyes barred him from sports and West Point. After graduation from high school, he worked as a timekeeper, clerked in banks, and then returned to the family farm where he walked behind a mule and plow. (In later years he boasted of his straight furrows.) He also lost a few thousand dollars investing in lead mines and oil wells. Lifted out of Independence, Mo., by World War I, Truman found wide experience and great excitement in the army—combat, death and travel. Returning to Kansas City, he opened a haberdashery, lost it in the recession of 1921-22, and moved ambitiously into politics. Like many Democratic politicians of the period, he rose with the aid of a corrupt machine (the Pendergasts). He toiled industriously, avoided public condemnation, cultivated alliances and climbed to the Senate in 1934. He operated quietly and cautiously in his first term, failed to gain Roosevelt's support in the 1940 primary, but in his second term won national attention as chairman of a special committee to investigate the war effort at home. In 1944, he was a compromise candidate for the nomination of Vice President, for he had offended no one and had built a record of integrity and party loyalty.

Thrust unexpectedly into the Presidency, Truman was ill-prepared to confront the massive challenges in domestic and foreign affairs. During his twelve weeks as Vice President, he seldom met with Roosevelt, never gained

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his confidence, and was even kept ignorant of the Manhattan Project. Truman's major political problems developed first on domestic issues. After a brief honeymoon with Congress, he reached a stalemate and found many of his programs blocked. He was unable to chart a popular or successful course during the uneasy period of reconversion and postwar readjustment. Casting him aside briefly in 1946, when Democratic Congressional candidates played phonograph records of Roosevelt, his party still could not avoid defeat as the GOP exploited the frustrations and irritations of disgruntled citizens. "Had enough? Vote Republican" was the popular slogan. Meat shortages, strikes and high prices helped elect the 80th Congress. Ironically, the results helped Truman win reelection in 1948. Campaigning against an (allegedly) "do nothing" Congress, Truman reconstructed the fragmented Democratic coalition and in the now famous "give 'em hell" campaign won a surprising victory. His second administration was marred by scandal and fell victim to new challenges and defeats—the "loss" of China, the rise of McCarthy and the prolonged stalemate in Korea. Eisenhower's great triumph in 1952 also symbolized the voters' repudiation of Truman.

During the Eisenhower years, the nation's esteem for Truman slowly rose as the rancor of the earlier period faded. Evaluating Chief Executives about a decade ago, scholars placed Truman in the ranks of the "near great." Many admired his pluck, viewed him as decisive ("the buck stops here"), forgave him for his favoritism to cronies and deemed him right on the major issues of his time. They saw him a victim of conservative opposition and of McCarthyism. They heralded his criticism of McCarthyism and his efforts on behalf of civil rights for blacks. His foreign policy received great praise: he recognized the Soviet threat, launched the policy of containment, sponsored the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, extended collective security to Europe with NATO, and acted courageously to stop Communist aggression in Korea.

In recent years, Truman's Presidency has been subject to a new, less flattering reappraisal. Some of his failures of domestic policy can be explained by his indecision, his poor tactics, his Cabinet system of government—in short, by his flawed leadership. During reconversion in 1945-46, for example, splits within his administration, his choice of poor advisers and their sabotage of his programs contributed to his adversities. His commitment to the liberal vision, and that vision itself, have also been found wanting. Even Truman's activities on behalf of civil rights now seem faltering, ambiguous and limited. His conception of equality was narrow. While he did champion the boldest civil rights program of any President until that time, he also followed a strategy that raised serious issues about his commitment. He made legislative demands that he knew Congress would not grant, but acted more cautiously and sometimes reluctantly in areas where he had administrative authority.

In civil liberties, his administration's record was disappointing. His own loyalty and security program, which failed to distinguish between loyalty and security, applied the same standards ("reasonable grounds for belief of disloyalty") to diplomats and gardeners. Its operation

relied upon dubious procedures: secret investigations, loose standards of evidence and nameless, faceless accusers. The program ruined some reputations, intimidated many people, and thwarted dissent. Despite its injustices, Truman in his later years stiffened the program by creating even more troubling standards—"reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of the individual."

Truman established the loyalty-security program in part to defuse the attacks of Republicans, who charged the New Deal-Fair Deal with "softness on communism." His administration ultimately became a victim of the pressures it unleashed and of the attitudes it encouraged. Its exaggeration of the Communist menace at home and abroad, its use of scare tactics to pass cold-war programs, its attacks on dissent, its promise to create absolute security, its misunderstanding of revolution and its pledges to halt the spread of communism abroad—all this contributed to the national "illusion of omnipotence." How could the administration explain spies at home or the "loss" of China? Was not stopping espionage or keeping China simply a matter of will? Were these failures bungling or betrayal? Citizens could ask such questions.

An assessment of Truman's Presidency must rest largely on his foreign policy. Perhaps the most dramatic, troubling event was the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When he sanctioned these attacks, Truman acted upon an assumption he had inherited from Roosevelt: the bomb was a legitimate weapon to be used in combat.

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What new President, poorly informed and fearful of error, would have had the boldness, independence and initiative to challenge Roosevelt's position? Truman used the bomb because there was no thought of not using it, because it did not seem to raise profound moral questions, and perhaps also because there were other advantages to using it: it might stop the Russians in Asia and make them more manageable in Eastern Europe. Shortly after Hiroshima, he cited the attack on Pearl Harbor to justify his decision: "When you have to deal with a beast you have to treat him as a beast." America accepted the use of the bomb and rejoiced in the victory that it helped produce. Truman and his advisers had acted in accord with the wishes and will of most Americans in 1945: they sought retribution and peace and were willing to sacrifice many enemy civilian lives in order to save some American soldiers.

When Truman became President, Soviet-American relations were already strained—by the delayed second front, disputes over the Baltic states and Poland, and mutual suspicions. Within fifteen months, the Grand Alliance was smashed and the cold war a painful reality. Truman's reversal of FDR's acceptance of a Soviet sphere in Eastern Europe, the new President's attempts to roll back the Soviets from this area, his denial of a large loan to Russia, the practice of "atomic diplomacy," his maintenance of the nuclear monopoly, and the reversal of our policy in Germany—all these frictions helped to produce the cold war. That being so, the cold war could have been avoided if the administration had followed other practices, for Stalin's policies were basically conservative and devoted to establishing a Soviet security zone in Eastern Europe and to reconstructing the war-ravaged economy. Nor did American public opinion demand the policies that the administration adopted toward Russia. In fact, Truman's government often had to "enlighten" the electorate on Soviet malevolence and the need for militant American policies. Seeking to establish a world of peace and prosperity defined in American terms, Truman's administration aimed to impose its own terms on the postwar world. Would Roosevelt have acted differently? The evidence is unclear. We can only speculate—but we must remember that the atomic bomb and economic power were the potential weapons or bargaining counters that Roosevelt had purposely kept in reserve and thereby bestowed on Truman.

Losing hope of immediate liberation in Eastern Europe, the administration formally launched its containment doctrine in 1947: the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Truman seized upon Britain's withdrawal from Greece as an opportunity to declare a global crusade: "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." The situation in Greece was actually more complex than the administration understood: it was a broadly based revolution and not Soviet-directed. The economic arm of containment was the Marshall Plan: an attempt to reconstruct the faltering European economy, erase the conditions that would breed communism and integrate Europe into an American-dominated capitalist order. Despite denials at the time, the plan was designed to be unacceptable to the Soviet Union. It considered the Soviet Union a prospective *donor* nation, required access to secret Soviet economic data, expected participating nations to move toward economic multilateralism, and also aimed to pry the Eastern European nations out of the Soviet orbit and back into the Western system. Rather than being simply an act of American benevolence, the Marshall Plan was part of a strategy for reconstructing the world on America's terms: the advancement of democratic capitalism. The program did assist Western Europe, thwart communism in that area; it also contributed to the East-West division of Europe.

During the administration's later years its probably most questionable major decisions in foreign policy involved intervention in Korea, escalation and stalemate. Acting without adequate evidence, Truman wrongly interpreted North Korea's attack as part of a Soviet plot to extend communism in Asia and to test the administration's will in Europe. For Truman, the Korean conflict was not primarily a civil war between two sections of a divided nation but part of the plan of monolithic communism for world domination. Having badly misjudged the situation, the President and his advisers also moved promptly to remilitarize Europe and to request huge military budgets from Congress. In Korea, Washington's policies were unsuccessful. It sought to conquer North Korea and unify the nation, ignored warnings from Communist China, and thereby unwisely extended the conflict and squandered American lives and resources. Rejecting both withdrawal and victory (MacArthur's strategy), Truman continued the costly stalemate during his last eighteen months of office. The President and his associates thereby lost the confidence of many Americans.

To Dean Acheson, scion of the Eastern establishment of Harvard, Yale, and Covington and Burling, Truman was "the captain with the mighty heart." To many in the policy-making establishment, the President had acted repeatedly with courage and vision to create the world they sought: an American century. Theirs was not a new aim and others who did not serve might also have been willing architects of the cold war. Truman was not the indispensable man. He may have given the cold war his own distinctive flavor, but Soviet-American relations would probably not have been greatly different if someone else had occupied the White House. In the years 1945-53, few men with or near power were prepared to follow significantly different policies or desired a different world order. A judgment of Truman, then, ultimately may depend upon a judgment of America—its ideology and its structure of power.

Even in his years of retirement Truman commanded attention because he was once our President. Yet, at this time when we reflect upon his life, we should not concentrate exclusively upon his policies and thereby overlook other aspects of the man. He was feisty and enjoyed the combat of politics. Toward his associates he was fiercely loyal and he could inspire affection and respect even from men of greater education and sophistication. As a father and husband, he was a model drawn from an earlier age. He was loving, protective, solicitous,

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understanding. As a private man, he was unpretentious, even earthy. Those who loved him may want to remember Truman not as an architect of the cold war but as a man of quick personal judgment, firm conviction and salty language. Consider, for example, an event of almost a decade ago, when he was walking with a crony along the corridor near his office. Pointing to his behind, Truman complained of a pain. Was it his hip?, the associate deftly asked. No, said Truman. Maybe the back? No, said Truman again. The upper thigh? No, said Truman impatiently, "It's a pain in my ass." With that blunt comment, he also revealed qualities of mind and temperament that partly explain why Truman, after meeting J. Robert Oppenheimer, who had expressed his personal agony about Hiroshima, ordered that he never wanted to see "that damned fool" again. □

LABOR & NIXON

MOVING THE HARD-HATS IN

WILLIAM GOULD
Mr. Gould is a professor at the Stanford Law School, where he teaches labor law. He is the author of the forthcoming Black Workers and the Labor Movement: The Role of Law and Private Initiative.

President Nixon's appointment of Peter Brennan, head of New York City's building trades, as Secretary of Labor is not merely a "political payoff." To be sure, Mr. Brennan's oft expressed enthusiasm for the President's domestic and foreign policies demonstrated sufficient political fealty. Brennan first gained national recognition when he led demonstrations in lower Manhattan to support the Nixon war policy in Indochina—demonstrations in which a number of students holding contrary views were beaten up.

But much more is involved. The Nixon Administration is attempting to establish a firmer foundation for its newly won blue-collar constituency. In so doing, it has cleverly widened the cleavage between the industrial unions—whose leaders piously praised Brennan for the record—and the more conservative crafts, whose social vision does not extend further than the next wage increases for their white memberships.

For the first time since the Roosevelt New Deal coalition formed forty years ago, the unions in 1972 deserted the Democratic Party in significant numbers. And for the first time, the workers themselves deserted the Democratic standard bearer as well. A recently released Gallup poll shows that 54 per cent of union families voted for Nixon —56 per cent supported Senator Humphrey in 1968.

The defection of organized labor's top leadership from the McGovern-Shriver campaign was heralded by the announced neutrality of AFL-CIO President George Meany and I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers. These gestures were followed by active support for President Nixon's candidacy provided by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons was the only labor member of the Pay Board not to resign last March; by a coincidence, the White House announced withdrawal of compulsory arbitration legislation aimed at transportation disputes almost simultaneously with the Teamster endorsement. Although Senator McGovern had the most endorsements from labor (eight of the major unions backed him—among them the UAW, Retail Clerks, Machinists, and State, County & Municipal Employees), the erosion of traditional unanimity damaged the Democrats.

Mr. Brennan explained the position of approximately thirty New York City unions, including the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, the Fire Fighters and the Sanitationmen's unions at the formation of the Labor Leaders Committee for the Re-election of Nixon: "We put our country first." A day earlier in Washington, seventeen building trades internationals, accounting for 3.5 million of the AFL-CIO's 13.6 million membership, had denounced the McGovern policies as "unacceptable" and said: "We are convinced that the election of President Nixon will serve the interests of our members as Americans and building tradesmen."

Accordingly, the Brennan appointment is a straightforward attempt to serve those interests—and to serve them at the expense of the more progressive industrial and public employee unions (like the UAW and State, County & Municipal Employees union), as well as minority groups traditionally excluded from the five almost exclusively white mechanical trades in construction. (These are the plumbers and pipefitters, electrical workers, sheet metal workers, ironworkers and operating engineers.)

When Brennan was questioned at a press conference after his nomination about bringing minorities into the building trades, he said "I'm all for it." But he cited as proof his support for the Department of Labor's Outreach project—a program which admirably demonstrates the policy of "tokenism" as practiced by both government and the crafts. (According to AFL-CIO estimates less than 5 per cent of the apprentices selected by Outreach in areas where it operates are from the minorities—and in the mechanical trades these workers are still three to five years away from journeyman status.) Brennan's real attitude seems to be reflected by a statement that he made, according to *The New York Times*, in response to the 1963 civil rights demands: "We won't stand for blackmail. We had that from the Communists and the gangsters in the thirties."

More indicting, however, is Brennan's antagonism toward policies devised to integrate the trades by the Nixon Administration itself—e.g., the Philadelphia Plan. (Actually this approach was conceived under Johnson but im-

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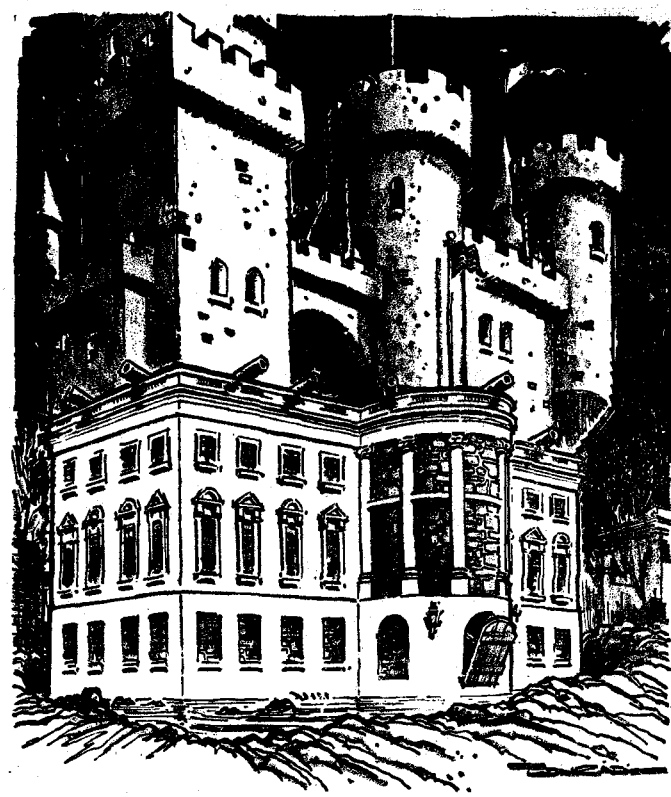
plemented by Nixon.) This is hardly surprising in light of the AFL-CIO's position on the 1969 plan. Its concept, now embodied in procedures established by the Department of Labor for Atlanta, San Francisco and St. Louis, provided for hiring black tradesmen in accordance with "goals and timetables" devised by the Department. Almost from the start, the AFL-CIO's civil rights department has declared war on this policy, choosing to characterize it as the adoption of "illegal quotas." Because of this resistance, the Administration began a steady retreat in 1970, relying on a so-called "hometown plan" approach for construction work, rather than the governmentally imposed Philadelphia program. One obvious advance was to be that the crafts would now begin to permit minorities, as well as whites, to come in as trainees rather than only as apprentices. (Actually more than 70 per cent of construction tradesmen enter the industry through the "back door," i.e., routes other than the formal apprenticeship system. The only gateway for minorities is the more rigorous apprenticeship program.)

Yet in early 1972, the chief of the agency supervising this Labor Department program—the Office of Federal Contract Compliance—resigned because of what he characterized as "illusionary and cosmetic policies." The retreat became a rout when on August 18, in response to an inquiry from the American Jewish Congress, Mr. Nixon stated his views on "quotas": "I share the views of the American Jewish Congress in opposing the concepts of quotas and proportional representation. . . . I do not believe that these are appropriate means of achieving equal-employment opportunities." More significantly, a week later the President ordered the Civil Service Commission to undertake a "complete review" of all agencies to determine that no "quota" systems were in effect. And former Secretary of Labor Hodgson simultaneously circulated his own "review memo" along the same lines—thus applying the same inhibiting principles to the government's efforts which require contractors to take positive steps to recruit minorities into their work forces.

In any event, the hometown plans are now completely discredited by most objective observers. The reason is evident. The approach is predicated on the dubious proposition that the construction unions and contractors can monitor their own commitments to abide by the law—even though they have been among the principal offenders in the past.

Moreover, the plans do not even purport to deal with any of the institutional barriers which the crafts have thrown in the way of minority applicants. None of the plans revises union-employer apprenticeship requirements as to the number of people to come into the program, the type of entrance examination that is to be given, the curriculum that is provided once an apprentice is indentured, or the duration of the program itself. On the basis of most of the evidence available from litigated discrimination cases, neither the content of examinations nor the nature or duration of the training seems geared to the actual needs of the job. The effect is to let in primarily those minority youngsters whose formal education and work attitude qualify them for college—whereas many ghetto high school dropouts who lack a background in algebra and trigonometry, but who could do the work, are excluded.



Los Angeles Times

White House Reorganization

Finally, even in cities where voluntary programs have been relatively successful as, for example, in Boston, the government has not issued reports or audits to show whether employees who are being counted as successful minority group recruits were actually working on a regular basis.

Nevertheless, despite all these deficiencies and the obvious willingness of most craft unions to devise such programs as a hedge against legal action that might be taken against them, Brennan vociferously objected to the introduction of a watered-down hometown plan in New York City. One Department of Labor official said of his position two years ago: "We couldn't get that guy to accept anything—and finally when he decided that *some kind* of plan was necessary, he shoved his own version down our throats through the White House."

The plan for New York that was finally accepted by the Department of Labor had no minimum wage, ran for only one year, and did not oblige the unions to admit any black employees at any time. However, the firms which adhered to this plan were deemed "automatically" in compliance with the Executive Order that prohibits discrimination by contractors and requires affirmative action to include minorities in the work force.

Further, the Secretary of Labor-designate is predictably antediluvian when it comes to any question of revising apprenticeship programs. A prominent liberal vice president of an industrial union expressed his amazement when Brennan stood up at a recent Washington meeting of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training to defend a five-year apprenticeship program for the painters (Brennan

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is a member of that union). Said Brennan: "When you see a worker painting a ceiling and you can see the paint running down his arm, then you know that he hasn't been through a five-year apprenticeship program."

Accordingly, while one can expect appropriate gestures, such as the establishment of more hometown and Outreach apprenticeship plans, the possible appointment of a black trade unionist to the Department of Labor, and the announcement of a slightly beefed-up New York City Plan before Brennan comes up for Senate confirmation, the man is essentially hostile to equal-employment opportunity. Moreover, Brennan's opposition to the Philadelphia Plan, like that of George Meany, apparently means the end of any imposed plan even where the crafts deliberately flout their legal obligations. (This, of course, assumes that responsibility in this area is not transferred from the Department of Labor to some other agency, perhaps the Office of Management and Budget—although even if OMB got control, the results would probably not be any better.) Indeed, it is interesting to note that the Chicago Plan, once hailed by both Meany and Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz as the hometown answer to the Philadelphia Plan, has floundered for three years and has just recently been restarted from scratch. One can properly assume that a policy of voluntarism will once again be the signal to avoid legal obligations.

Another effect of the Brennan appointment will be to rescue those unions which have been somewhat beleaguered because of their performance on issues other than race. After all, it is designed to please that segment of the labor movement most often attacked both for its resistance to productivity and work rules and for its jurisdictional squabbles. The establishment of wage restraint machinery for construction in advance of Phases I and II acknowledged the fact that inflationary wage demands in that industry were being emulated throughout the economy by industrial unions and others.

Attempts to form a new blue-collar constituency do not stop with the construction trades. Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters was offered the Secretary of Labor position before it went to Brennan. He has switched his Washington law business from the Edward Bennett Williams law firm, which represents the Democratic Party in the Watergate litigation, to a law firm soon to be joined by White House assistant Chuck Colson, a principal sponsor of the Nixon trade-union alliance and also involved in the Watergate matter. Fitzsimmons' dismissal of Harold Gibbons from the Teamster executive board because of the latter's support for Senator McGovern is another major step toward making the Nixon-Teamster relationship more permanent.

One by-product of this new Nixon-labor alliance is that black trade unionists—alarmed by the AFL-CIO's "neutrality" toward an Administration that is appropriately regarded as anti-black—rushed to the side of Senator McGovern during the past campaign under the stimulus of a newly formed Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. This organization, though engendered by the 1972 elections, is intended to be permanent. According to William Lucy, the youthful and extremely able secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees union and one of the most prominent black trade unionists in the country, the group will try to work within the trade-union movement. But the going will be difficult because the white unionists who switched to Nixon in such large numbers are upset by the racist issues which he used so skillfully—that is, quotas and bussing.

The question of whether all this will undo what forty years have put together cannot yet be answered. While Democrats can easily bounce back in 1976—certainly the UAW and AFSME, as well as some other industrial and public employee unions will remain part of the coalition—it remains to be seen whether the construction and building trades, and more important, the AFL-CIO itself, which they have dominated so successfully, will make a significant contribution. Peter Brennan's appointment makes the question loom larger. □

JAPAN & AUSTRALIA

THE UPPITY COMMUNIST PARTIES

MAX GORDON
Mr. Gordon, a former member of the editorial board of The Daily Worker, *resigned from the Communist Party in 1958. He is now a free-lance writer. Last summer he visited Japan and Australia.*

In Tokyo last August, I was startled to read that Chou En-lai had denounced the "extreme Left" Japanese Communist Party for opposing normalization of relations between China and Japan. The Chinese Premier, addressing a Japanese delegation that had come to Peking to prepare the way for Prime Minister Tanaka's historic visit, named Kenji Miyamoto and Sanzo Nosaka, the Japanese party's general secretary and chairman, as the foes of rapprochement.

Chou's attack was curious, both because it appeared to be gratuitous and because the Japanese CP's reputation is anything but extreme Left. An informal check with a party spokesman brought the response that the charge was false; the Japanese party advocated normal relations among all nations, based on the five principles of coexistence. These, he declared, include "noninterference in each other's internal affairs and," he added with deliberate emphasis, "noninterference in each other's internal party affairs."

Further conversations and a reading of Japanese party

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documents revealed that for some years the Communist Party of Japan has been involved in intense conflict with the parties of both China and the Soviet Union. The conflict was engendered in part by what Japanese party leaders charge has been open, unabashed interference in their affairs by the "great power chauvinist" parties. In the course of these interparty disputes the Japanese Communists have developed close relations with the Communist Party of Australia, which has also accused the two giant parties of repeated encroachment over the past several years.

In both countries splinter groups are supported by, and maintain close relations with, the Soviets and the Chinese respectively, so that there are in each country three parties that consider themselves Communist. In Japan, the two splinter groups are insignificant, whereas the independent party is a powerful organization with 300,000 members, a newspaper whose Sunday circulation is 2.5 million, thirty-eight members elected in the recent balloting for the lower house of the Diet and ten members in the upper house and a controlling influence in about a third of the unions. In Australia, the Chinese-oriented group is insignificant, but the Soviet-oriented group, recently organized, took with it about a fourth of the party membership. Though small, the Australian CP is probably the strongest in the English-speaking world because of its influence in the trade-union movement.

The conflicts with the Russian and the Chinese parties developed separately and under varying circumstances in Japan and Australia. Though theoretical differences exist between the CPJ and CPA, their common stand on national party independence and noninterference and their rejection of the "leading party" concept have drawn them together. Both have raised these issues to the level of high principle and have sought to campaign for them in the world Communist movement.

Thus, a fraternal message to the Australian party's convention last March declared that recent Communist gains in Japan had been achieved by firm assumption of autonomy and independence, opposition to "big power chauvinist interference" and the expulsion of "factions which became agents for . . . subversive activities of some foreign parties. . . ." The message added that the realization of the principles of independence, equality and noninterference, to which all parties were pledged, was a prerequisite for recovery of the "unity of the international Communist movement at a new stage." Indicating a major reason for its anxiety over international Communist disunity, the Japanese declared that solidarity with the Vietnamese was "the most urgent international task requiring the cooperation of the forces of anti-imperialism. . . ."

In its own declaration at the conference, the Australian party carried its dispute with Moscow and Peking beyond the issue of independence. It said that "the all-powerful bureaucratic structures . . . in a number of Socialist-based states" constitute "a serious obstacle to the further Socialist development of these countries." The CPA "works for a strong revolutionary movement which bases itself on its own thinking and activity, and does not follow some other 'god' who has all the answers. Unlike other groups, we do not accept the 'gospel' of Moscow (or Peking). . . ." The term "Socialist-based states," a party leader explained, refers to countries that have eliminated private capital but have not yet developed a truly democratic Socialist regime. He indicated that the term embraces virtually all Communist-led regimes to date.

While several Communist parties have criticized Moscow and Peking, and have sought to differentiate their projections of socialism from the policies and practices of existing regimes, alienation appears to be more advanced in the Japanese and Australian parties than in those of the West. Thus a number of parties, including the Japanese and Australian, deplored the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the repressions associated with it, but only these two, as far as I know, have condemned Moscow and Peking for receiving President Nixon at a time when the air and naval war against the Vietnamese was expanding. The Japanese declared that the Chinese "have embarked on the path to an unprincipled U.S.-China rapprochement within the framework of the Nixon Doctrine." Following the B-52 raids on Haiphong and Hanoi, the party presidium asked Moscow to withdraw its invitation to Nixon. After Nixon's visits, the CPJ assailed both Peking and Moscow for tending to immobilize the masses in their struggle against the war, "spreading illusions" about U.S. imperialism, and providing Nixon with ammunition to attack the will of the Vietnamese. It referred to leaflets that were dropped on North Vietnam showing Nixon being received by Mao and Brezhnev.

The Australian Communist press, also calling attention to the leaflets, declared editorially that Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking "have helped to cultivate the phony image of a reasonable, sincere peacemaker."

Public expression of the impulse toward national independence is not of recent origin in the Communist parties of the two major capitalist countries of the Far East. The first open breaks—between the Japanese and the USSR, and between the Australians and China—occurred as early as 1963 and 1964; subsequent breaks, in reverse pairing, took place some three or four years later.

Early in the Sino-Soviet dispute, the Japanese party supported the Chinese ideological position and disliked Khrushchev's détente with the United States. But it avoided taking sides openly, hoping that an international split could be prevented. In 1963, it refused to endorse the U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, on the ground that, while the treaty did not impair Washington's ability to brandish, or use, nuclear weapons, it did "beautify" President Kennedy just as he was adding to the U.S. military presence in Vietnam. Because of disagreements on the subject in the powerful Japanese Peace Council, CPJ policy was to avoid reference to the treaty in an attempt to maintain the council's unity. But the Soviet delegation to the annual world conference sponsored by the council insisted upon raising the issue, attacking the CPJ's position in the process. The result was a split in the world, and Japanese, peace movement.

Supported by Soviet-oriented Japanese, a rival peace organization was set up in which, ironically, Soviet party leaders have been collaborating with Japanese Socialists against the Communist-influenced Peace Council. The Japanese Communists have since called upon the Socialists

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to shed the effects of Moscow's "great power chauvinist intervention," recover their independence and re-establish the "democratic unity" of Japan's peace movement. The Japanese party has also charged the Russians with continuously encouraging the Soviet-oriented group it had expelled in 1963.

The CPJ's dispute with Moscow became public in 1964 with the release of an exchange of denunciatory letters that reviewed their postwar relations. The charges and countercharges indicate that the Japanese party was developing into a strong organization in the late 1940s, through effective use of united front tactics, when U.S. occupation forces under MacArthur began to harass it. At that point, the Soviet leadership charged it with revisionism and demanded a change in tactics consistent with the Cominform's "militant" line. At first the Japanese leaders balked, but when the Chinese joined the criticism, they not only capitulated but adopted a policy of guerrilla warfare in imitation of the Chinese experience. They were thoroughly shattered, and did not pick up the pieces until 1955. With apparent Soviet agreement the Chinese assumed tutelage of the Japanese party and a bond was forged which grew stronger with the Sino-Soviet feud.

However, it did not last. In 1965 the Japanese initiated a joint effort with the Communist parties of Vietnam, North Korea and Indonesia to gain Soviet-Chinese support for Indochinese resistance to growing U.S. military intervention. The Russians were agreeable; the Chinese were not, though Japanese leaders visited Peking twice in attempts to persuade them. In the Japanese party's view, Sino-Soviet unity was essential to a worldwide anti-imperialist defense of the Indochinese. The Chinese, by insisting upon a united front that was both anti-U.S. and anti-Soviet, were in fact disrupting the international opposition to Washington's "naked aggression." But, the Japanese had charged, the Chinese did not stop there; a Chinese delegation visiting Japan attacked the policies of the CPJ, criticized it for not again launching guerrilla war in the Chinese manner, and assisted in the organization of party groups hostile to the leadership.

Japanese Communist leaders were also deeply affected by the destruction of the Indonesian party, with which they had had close relations and whose leaders they had admired. They tended to hold the Chinese responsible for the attempt to seize power in 1965, the result of which was the bloody counterrevolution.

Like the Japanese, Australian Communist leaders in the late 1950s were close to the Chinese. Many went to China for study and rest. When the Sino-Soviet conflict developed, they also tended to side with the Chinese but avoided open alignment for fear of an international split. By late 1961, however, they had begun to veer away from the Chinese position. Australian leaders ascribe this to the realization that the extremism of the Chinese and their Australian disciples, which included resort to guerrilla warfare, would isolate the party from the labor movement. Other probable factors were the apparent failure of the "Great Leap Forward" in China and the increasing influence of younger leaders, who were more flexible than their seniors and more sensitive to the party's relations with other segments of Australian society. Some of these rising leaders appear to have been attracted to the polycentrist views of the Italian party.

In the state of Victoria (Melbourne), however, a Maoist party leadership expelled or exiled members who resisted its pro-Chinese position. The Victorian leadership also tried to align the national party with the Chinese and against the Russians. After months of internal debate, the Maoist policy was rejected, and E.F. Hill, head of the Victorian organization, removed from leadership. Later expelled for continuing to press his position, he went to Peking and announced from there the formation of a new "Marxist-Leninist" party in Australia. The new party, which continues to receive Peking's support, has remained a splinter group confined to Victoria.

While the Australian party's break with the Soviets took place publicly as a result of the Czech invasion, its leaders maintain that the process had begun considerably before that. In the early 1960s, younger leaders felt the party was losing relevance and began to study its position in Australian life. When the nation entered the Vietnamese War and instituted conscription, the CP took the lead in organizing resistance, and thereby came in touch with New Left youth. This compelled a re-examination of theoretical and organizational assumptions, including the applicability of the Russian experience, which had only negative connotations for the new crop of young radicals. One result was a resolution at the 1967 party convention that strongly asserted the party's independence from Moscow.

A second result was the publication, which Soviet embassy officials tried to stop, of a critique of Soviet interference with the Dubcek regime before the Czech invasion and a defense of Prague's "socialism with a human face."

At its 1970 convention, the CPA undertook to list "the errors and crimes" committed by some "Socialist-based" countries. The list included a bureaucracy divorced from the people and the substitution of party leadership for popular rule; inadequate recognition that socialism means more than simply building the economy; curtailment of political democracy and intellectual freedom; policies based on national interest, sometimes against the wider interests of the international movement; dogmatic ideologies used to justify and perpetuate these features of the society. The party's resolution emphasized that, while such practices were wrong in themselves, they also hindered further economic and social development, and distorted socialism. The consequences, it warned, would be a build-up of social pressures and tensions leading to eventual crisis and upheaval.

In the mid-1960s, the Australian Communists took oblique note of developing anti-Semitism in the USSR. Recently, the party's newspaper, *The Tribune,* carried a sympathetic review of *End of a Thousand Years*, a book which contains personal accounts of Jews, including veteran Communist officials, who have been driven out of Poland. It is said that Soviet officials, in private criticism of the party to visiting Australian Communists, have not hesitated to mention that two of its top leaders, one of them General Secretary Laurie Aarons, are Jewish.

After the break over Czechoslovakia, Soviet-oriented party members first formed a pro-Soviet faction, then a

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new party. It includes some veteran union officials. CPA leaders claim that the break occurred simultaneously with adoption of a new Communist industrial policy, calling for greater labor militancy and more union democracy. The policy statement declares that the chief barrier to union militancy is official conservatism, including that of some "radical Socialist" labor leaders. The hostile reaction of some Communist labor officials to the charge, according to a CPA spokesman, helped shape their attitude toward the party's differences with the USSR.

Both the Japanese and Australian parties perceive the agency of Socialist transformation to be the united front. For the Japanese, unity of the Communist and Socialist Parties which together dominate the politics of the unions would be the backbone of such a front. (The two parties polled about a third of the vote in the recent elections.) The Australians see a broad coalition embracing the unions, the Labor Party's left wing, intellectuals and other middle-class groups. Both view their respective coalitions as eventually taking power electorally, but having to depend on mass popular action against big business to put through Socialist measures. The process envisioned appears similar to the Chilean experience, except that Japanese and Australian projections imply the need for overwhelming popular majorities to defeat reactionary resistance both to effective electoral tactics and to Socialist measures. In the recent elections, the CPA generally backed the Labor Party as the only realistic alternative to the ruling conservative coalition and because of its generally anti-war platform. It campaigned actively for left-wing parliamentary Labor candidates and ran seven Communists in carefully selected districts.

The united front idea has compelled both parties to pay close attention to their relations with other groups. As the Australians put it, they are forced to define their attitude toward democracy in a Socialist society and to differentiate their positions from those of existing "Socialist-based" countries. The Japanese, citing Lenin on the differences between revolution in Russia and in advanced capitalist countries, have made the obvious but generally overlooked point that, since no Socialist revolution has yet taken place in an advanced capitalist country, this area is "uncharted." Again citing Lenin, they flatly declared that the Soviet experience provides no model for Japan or any other country. The Australians hold similar views.

Both parties project a democratic Socialist society with plural party systems, representative legislative bodies and guarantees of free speech, press, association and religion. In the CPJ projection, resort to violent counterrevolution is the only forbidden activity. The CPA's prohibition is somewhat more restrictive; it would ban activity generally in opposition to socialism. The Australian projection also includes election of representative bodies by proportional representation; increased powers for local governments; a network of elected ombudsmen independent of government institutions; the right to strike or demonstrate; unrestricted travel; full freedom of literary and artistic expression, etc.

Australian Communists have departed further from orthodoxy than have the Japanese with respect to party organization. They have eliminated the concept of the party as a vanguard, and of "democratic centralism" as the mechanism of internal organization. In the projected "coalition of the Left," seen as the agency for Socialist transformation, the party would contribute to leadership through its activity, organization and "force of ideas"; it would not seek a special vanguard role. In place of "democratic centralism," the CPA is experimenting with new forms of party organization designed to combat bureaucracy and overcome rigidity. It has also departed sharply from orthodoxy with respect to Trotskyism. It deplores the Soviet refusal to debate Trotskyite views, and has concluded that some Trotskyite groups in Australia must be considered a legitimate part of the Left because of their contributions to the peace struggle.

The Japanese party, on the other hand, asserts the vanguard role and utility of democratic centralism. It gives them credit for the party's consolidation after the disastrous leftism of the early 1950s, for its steady growth, and for its successful rebuffs to Russian and Chinese attempts at intervention. Its attitude toward Trotskyism remains unaltered: it lumps Japanese Trotskyites and Maoists together as disruptive, adventurist elements in the country's political life.

The Japanese and Australian parties both think that the division in the international movement has encouraged the United States to pursue its military intervention in Vietnam. In addition, the division has—in the CPJ's words—"greatly reduced the international prestige of the Socialist system" at a time when the "heroic struggle" of the Vietnamese Communists has "brilliantly proved the superiority" of this system. Both parties thus direct their international activities to restoring cohesion in the world system, for which the independence of each party is considered indispensable. Hence, they are always careful to indicate that they look upon the Soviet and Chinese parties as fraternal bodies which "in their objective and political function" are "a decisive counter against U.S. imperialism." Their criticism of China and the USSR, they repeatedly declare, is made within the assumption of fraternal relations among all Communist parties, irrespective of existing differences.

Domestically, their past rigid adherence to Moscow's (later Peking's) dictates and experience badly distorted their policies and has sharply limited their influence. The effects are not easily overcome. The dogma to which they adhered—that of a single international line applicable to all parties—has had remarkable durability. The Comintern's dissolution of 1943 was supposed to have recognized that it was outmoded, but nothing changed. The Khrushchev speech at the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 stimulated a movement toward polycentrism and ferment in some parties, but the dogmatic mentality has generally persisted in the world movement.

Policy re-examination by the CPJ and CPA has not led them to polycentrism, since this implies several centers, and hence satellite parties. They hold that every party should be independent and equal, and have gone further in their assertion of this principle than have most other parties, perhaps because of geography and because of their intense dedication to the Vietnamese struggle.

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What is the outlook for reconstitution of world Communist unity based on independence and equality of all parties, as envisaged by the Japanese and Australians? Though there exists a loose grouping of parties that assert independence (including, along with the Japanese and Australians, the Vietnamese, Spanish, Italian and Romanian, among others) the Australian leaders, at any rate, seem to think the prospect is a long way off. They have noted that the policies of "Socialist-based" countries are shaped by their specific conditions and interests, and that these can and often do collide with the interests of other such countries or of the world movement. And, as Spanish party chairman Santiago Carrillo has observed, the origin of all problems dividing the world movement "lies in the moves, the attitudes, of parties which are in power. . . ."

The immediate job, as at least the Australians see it, is to press for maximum anti-imperialist unity despite nationalist conflicts among Communist-led nations. That would seem to require complete freedom from the ideological influence of, or subordination to, any of these nations. □

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

PART WAY TO REFORM

MARY MEEHAN
Miss Meehan, a free-lance writer in Washington, D.C., took an active part in Eugene McCarthy's 1968 and 1972 campaigns.

A Presidential candidate in Florida received 42 per cent of the primary vote and 93 per cent of the delegates to the national convention. In California another candidate received 44 per cent of the vote and 100 per cent of the delegates. That candidate also won 41 per cent of the vote in Rhode Island and 100 per cent of the delegates. With 30 per cent of the vote in Wisconsin he took 80 per cent of the delegates.

Insurgents in the state of Washington won major support in precinct caucuses but were shut out at the state convention. In Illinois, a Presidential candidate did not run in the preferential primary and had delegate candidates for only thirteen of the sixty-two Chicago seats; yet he received most of the delegates from Chicago. The same candidate skipped the preferential primary in Indiana, yet was supported by many Indiana delegates on credentials and platform votes. A favorite son in the District of Columbia warned the major candidates to stay out of his primary; he then captured all of the D.C. delegates and used them for a backroom deal.

Does that sound like 1968? It does indeed, but it all happened in the great reform year of 1972. The results in Florida favored George Wallace. The outcome in Washington favored Henry Jackson. The results in California, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and the District of Columbia favored George McGovern.

The drive for reform of the Democratic Party began in 1968, when anti-war Democrats were treated unfairly almost everywhere. Peace folk from the North and West made common cause with blacks from the South who had also been shut out of the process. They lost most of their credentials challenges in Chicago. But a resolution providing for a reform commission slipped through under the leadership of Iowa's Harold Hughes.

When the reform commission was appointed in 1969, Senator McGovern was made its chairman and Senator Hughes its vice chairman. (Rep. Donald Fraser was appointed chairman when McGovern resigned early in 1971; but by then the commission's major decisions had been made.) The other members ranged from reformers to regulars and from doves to hawks.

The commission's mandate was vague; it was a general order to study the delegate selection process and recommend changes to assure broader citizen participation. The commission was also instructed to aid state parties in meeting the Call to the 1972 Democratic convention, which would forbid use of the unit rule in choosing delegates and would require that the selection process be open to public participation within the calendar year of 1972. But the 1968 turmoil had in a sense provided its own mandate. Simply stated, it was to move toward a "one Democrat, one vote" standard in selecting Presidential candidates.

The McGovern commission required certain reforms —such as open slate making and timely selection—to benefit all Democratic voters. These reforms, commission enthusiasts kept saying, opened the process to rank-and-file voters, but the commission made a small mistake: it failed to guarantee that all the votes of the rank and file would be counted.

The commission required convention states to select at least 75 per cent of their delegates at a level no higher than the Congressional district, thus providing some representation for political minorities. But the same requirement was not imposed on primary states. California and a few other states continued to give all the delegates to the person who won the primary, whether by majority or plurality. This meant that a majority of those who voted in the primary might be entirely unrepresented at the national convention—precisely what happened to the 56 per cent of California Democrats who voted for someone other than McGovern.

Other primary states awarded delegates to the winner of each Congressional district, but gave extra delegates to the candidate who won a statewide plurality. This system usually gave some representation to the runner-up, but did not produce a "one Democrat, one vote" result. In Florida, the outcome was almost as distorted as it

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would have been in a winner-take-all primary. In Ohio, Hubert Humphrey divided the district delegates almost evenly with McGovern, but because he held a small margin in the statewide vote, Humphrey won all the thirty-eight delegates elected at large.

The reform commission also allowed several states to confuse voters by holding preferential primaries but selecting delegates through a convention process. McGovern delegates from Indiana, where McGovern did not even run in the preferential primary, were bound to vote for preferential winners Humphrey and Wallace for the Presidential nomination. But they were free to vote against them on credentials and platform issues. They did so, and may have surprised Indiana voters who thought their vote in the preferential would be decisive.

The McGovern commission developed an obsession with women and minorities as delegates. It said that racial minorities, women and young people had been underrepresented at the 1968 convention. It could have remedied this injustice by insisting on an open process and a "one Democrat, one vote" rule. Instead it attempted social engineering, requiring state parties to encourage the presence on state delegations of minority group members, women and young people "in reasonable relationship" to their presence in the state's population.

The commission had difficulty explaining what it meant by "reasonable relationship," perhaps because the members themselves were not sure what they meant. Senator McGovern "at first agreed that a quota system had been adopted. But after lunch, he persuaded the gathering to declare unanimously that no such system had been intended." (*The New York Times*, November 20, 1969.) McGovern later explained, "The way we got the quota thing through was by not using the word 'quotas.' We couldn't have gotten quotas." (*National Journal*, June 19, 1971.)

The result of such double talk was great confusion in the state parties and the Presidential campaigns. No one knew exactly what percentage of delegates had to be women, under 30, black, or Chicano. Some state parties wrote quota systems into their own rules; others tried to reach a "reasonable relationship" in practice; others just ignored the guidelines on this question. Presidential campaigns also did their own interpreting, but often at the risk of credentials challenges.

Though a member of a group whom the "reasonable relationship" guideline is supposed to assist, I have never been convinced that the commission was justified in imposing it. It seems artificial and paternalistic to give us what we would be better off winning on our own. The first emphasis should have been on issue representation. If you assure everyone full and fair participation, the natural result is for minorities to organize their strength on the basis of issues important to them. Black candidates for delegate would run on such issues as assured income and a serious approach to the unemployment problem. Women might run on issues like equal employment, day care, etc. The young might talk about educational reform and the legalization of marijuana. Or women and minorities could run on other issues that seemed more urgent to them. Many of them entered politics on the peace issue and still have it as their chief concern.

Quota advocates might argue that their approach produced real gains on issues, but I am not sure they can prove it. It is true that the 1972 Democratic platform had a good plank on women's rights, a good one on bilingual education, and many strong statements on civil rights. Yet the first two issues were striking in the 1972 platform chiefly by comparison with the 1968 platform, which hardly set a high standard. And regardless of delegate selection methods, all recent platforms have had good statements on civil rights.

But the minority report calling for a $6,500 assured income for a family of four was defeated at the 1972 convention, and that was the most important issue for many black people. The defeat of the minority report left them with the usual patchwork of New Deal-New Frontier-Great Society programs that have not worked.

Feminist leaders complained about the manipulation of women delegates at the convention. They rightly questioned the value of being used as window dressing. Despite all we heard about the young delegates, there was no debate over legalizing marijuana. It is not a frivolous issue: the effect of the marijuana prohibition on the young probably has been second only to the effect of the war. The issue was ignored, apparently, in deference to McGovern's chances in November.

Liberals and radicals were supposed to rejoice at the sight of so many young people, black people, brown people and women at the 1972 convention. Yet the question was bound to arise: Once you get them there, what are they supposed to do? Just take their orders from George McGovern? Is that so much better than taking orders from Richard Daley?

There is something demeaning about becoming a delegate primarily because of ethnic background, or sex, or age. This condition probably made some of the delegates less independent than they should have been. A young Chicano delegate told *The Washington Post*: "Well, how the hell I made it I don't know. Mostly I think I made it as a token Mexican and for a while this really hurt my ego. But whatever star guided me here I am indebted forever. I have already learned so much that textbooks will never seem the same."

The minority guideline protected only some minorities. Poor people, for example, were not included. The assured income proposal was defeated partly because the 1972 convention was overwhelmingly middle class and upper-middle class. The white ethnics also lacked special protection. A literal reading of the minority guideline seems to include ethnic and religious minorities; but it was interpreted in 1972 to include only racial minorities. It will have its real test when the ethnics start organizing. Democrats will then be so busy calculating quotas for Italians, Poles, Czechs, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Croats, Slovenes, Greeks, Irish—and maybe even WASPs—that issues may be forgotten entirely. Suppose that a woman is of Greek descent but married to an Italian: for which national origin does she count? If a man is half Irish and half Polish, but has a Polish surname, does he count half and half or strictly Polish or what? The quota sys-

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tem may become a parody of itself and finally fall of its own weight.

When the McGovern commsision met late in 1969, it was deadlocked on whether to require proportional representation on issues (as indicated by candidate preference). The commission tackled the question again in November, when a proposal to require proportional representation was soundly defeated. Harold Hughes, Patti Knox and David Mixner cast the only votes for the proposal. Commission member Fred Dutton, who had argued for more young delegates and women delegates, led the fight against proportional representation on issues. Dutton seemed to think that winner-take-all was a fine practice. Senator McGovern, who had previously supported the concept of proportional representation, was not willing to require it for 1972. He apparently thought the issue needed more debate within the party. The commission finally passed a resolution urging, but not requiring, proportional representation.

In 1972 four states and the District of Columbia had winner-take-all primaries on a statewide basis. The four states were California, Oregon, Rhode Island and McGovern's own South Dakota; Senator McGovern won all four. The District of Columbia winner, Walter Fauntroy, soon led his delegates into the McGovern camp. Had the delegates from these five primaries been allotted on a proportional basis, McGovern probably would not have become the Democratic nominee.

The District of Columbia and South Dakota were two of only three places where favorite sons won primaries in 1972. Proportional representation in the District would have been a healthy check on Walter Fauntroy's ambition. In South Dakota it might have provided a little competition for George McGovern. But California, with its 271 delegates, was the big prize. State Democratic leaders there wanted to keep winner-take-all in order to continue California's great power in national party affairs.

In April 1972, the Center for Political Reform and individual supporters of Ashbrook, Chisholm, Humphrey, Jackson, Lindsay, McCarthy, McGovern, Muskie, Nixon and Yorty brought suit in California's supreme court to end the winner-take-all in that state. They asked for proportional allocation of delegates according to the results of the primary to be held in June. The state supreme court declined to hear the case, and for some reason the Center did not follow its initial plan of appealing to a federal court. Another suit was brought in federal court by another group after the primary, but was quickly dismissed. In the end, the only recourse for those who opposed winner-take-all was an appeal to the Credentials Committee. Such an appeal was made by California delegate candidates who had been pledged to Chisholm, Humphrey, Jackson and Muskie.

McGovern fans were wrong when they said no one had challenged winner-take-all before the California primary. And they missed the point when they said it would be unfair to their candidate to take away some of the delegates he had "won" because he had "played the game" on the assumption it would be winner-take-all. Party reform was supposed to favor the voters, not the candidates. About 56 per cent of the Democrats who voted in the California primary—that is, more than 2 million Democrats—voted for candidates other than McGovern.

The Credentials Committee decided in favor of the 2 million voters; but the full convention reversed the committee and decided for McGovern. Speaking for the McGovern cause, Assemblyman Willie Brown cried that he wanted "to stand before you in my just due, with my 271-man delegation, and cast the votes of that unanimous 271-man delegation. And I don't think I deserve any less. . . . Give me back my delegation!" This reminded me of John Connally's fight for the unit rule at the 1968 convention. Brown, like Connally, seemed to regard his state's delegation as a personal possession. Others thought that a delegation, if it belonged to anyone, belonged to the voters who elected it.

The Chicago challenge was another case of reform gone haywire. Illinois has a preferential primary that is unrelated to delegate selection. A candidate may choose to enter the preferential, or run some delegate candidates, or do both. Edmund Muskie and Eugene McCarthy chose to do both. George McGovern stayed out of the preferential but fielded some delegate candidates.

Illinois law permits a delegate aspirant to run pledged to any person without that person's consent. Noncandidate Edward Kennedy may have been startled to find that twenty people in Chicago pledged themselves to him when they ran for delegate. And the Chicago Muskie campaign was plagued with overfiling and with fake Muskie candidates who were intent on confusing the Daley machine instead of aiding the Maine Senator.

Muskie won the Illinois preferential with more than 60 per cent of the vote. Most of the delegates were elected by Congressional district. Muskie won fifty-nine by district, including three in Chicago. McCarthy, partly because of greater stress on the preferential, won no delegates. McGovern won thirteen—all of them outside Chicago.

The other winner was Mayor Daley, who emerged with fifty-nine uncommitted delegates from Chicago. Daley's fifty-nine were soon challenged by Alderman William Singer, Rev. Jesse Jackson and other anti-Daley people. The hearing officer sustained their charge that the Daley organization had violated McGovern commission guidelines. Violations included secret slate making and underrepresentation of minorities and women. The Credentials Committee, and later the full convention, barred the Daley delegation and seated the Singer-Jackson group in its place.

The successful challenge delegation included blacks, Chicanos and women in proportion to their presence in Chicago's population. But Mike Royko, anti-Daley columnist of the *Chicago Daily News*, had a serious complaint about the new delegation. In an open letter to Alderman Singer, Royko said: "As I looked over the names of your delegates, I saw something peculiar. It might not be noticeable to somebody from another part of the country, but it jumps out at a native Chicagoan. There's only one Italian name there. . . . And only three of your fifty-nine have Polish names. . . . Your reforms have disenfranchised Chicago's white ethnic Democrats, which is a strange reform. . . ."

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But the major shortcoming of the Singer delegation was that it did not represent Chicago's primary vote. Had the challengers followed the preferential vote, they would have split about 63 per cent Muskie to 37 per cent McCarthy—that is, thirty-seven Muskie delegates and twenty-two McCarthy delegates. Had they followed the primary vote on delegates, the majority would have been Daley people. But since they excluded all the Daley votes as impure, they could have divided according to the vote for non-Daley delegates. Leaving out the Daley votes and the votes for three Muskie delegates elected in Chicago and not challenged, the Chicago delegate vote broke down this way: Muskie, 44 per cent; Kennedy, 19 per cent; McCarthy, 15 per cent; McGovern, 11 per cent; uncommitted (non-Daley), 8 per cent; others, 3 per cent.

So how did the Singer delegation actually break down on Presidential preference? Just before the convention, this way: McGovern, 69 per cent; uncommitted, 22 per cent; Muskie, 5 per cent; McCarthy, 2 per cent; Chisholm, 2 per cent. There is really no way to justify a delegation so unrepresentative of a primary vote.

The Democratic Party may be too divided—and too tired—to pull itself together again. Institutions, like people, do run out of steam eventually. A party that has lasted more than 150 years should not be ashamed to acknowledge the symptoms of advanced age. But if the Democratic Party is dying, one could not guess this from observing the lively fight in progress for its control. The party could at least set an example for other institutions by providing fair rules for the fight.

The 1972 Democratic convention did require more reforms. It also provided for another reform commission, which is chaired by UAW leader Leonard Woodcock, and has forty-eight members. The new commission could become a peacemaker of sorts—if all factions of the party understand the stake they have in the "one Democrat, one vote" standard. The last two national conventions have provided this lesson for all who want to learn it.

The 1972 convention required that delegates to the next convention "shall be chosen in a manner which fairly reflects the division of preferences expressed by those who participate in the Presidential nominating process. . . ." A brief discussion in the Rules Committee, which proposed this change, suggested that it would forbid winner-take-all on both state and district levels. Certainly the Woodcock commission can interpret the new provision to require proportional representation on all levels.

Primary states can follow the example of Michigan, which in 1972 selected its delegates on the basis of the primary vote. Or they can let slates run in a primary and later pare themselves down to the percentage of the vote they have won in the primary. Convention states can assure proportional representation by following the example of Iowa, which has an excellent caucus system that is fair to all voters and candidates. Or they might copy other convention states that have adopted cumulative voting.

The 1972 convention passed a new provision that will encourage more participation by poor people. It required the Democratic National Committee to establish a special fund to pay expenses of delegates who otherwise could not attend the 1976 convention. And it suggested holding the next convention on a university campus in order to provide low-cost food and lodging for delegates. The 1972 convention also required that delegates to the next convention be real supporters of the candidates for whom they must vote. If properly enforced, this will unscramble systems that now allow a state convention to contradict a state primary.

Renault, Washington Star

"Labor Demands a Larger Quota on National Committees So We Can End the Unfair Quota System Once and for All!"

The Woodcock commission is bound to face a major battle over the quota system. If it is expanded to include all economic and ethnic groups, it will become a mathematical monster. It will also encourage more divisiveness in the party without assuring real gains for minorities. And it may even reach the point of holding minorities down to certain levels, so that where blacks make up 10 per cent of a state's population only 10 per cent of the delegation may be black (because 90 per cent is allocated to other minorities).

An alternative is to abolish the quota system, for which there is much to be said. Proportional representation on issues can provide the protection needed by women and minorities. If a minority believes that no Presidential candidate answers its needs, it can field slates

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committed to its own issue positions but not committed to any candidate. If Presidential candidates fail to respond to the needs of minorities, they will be faced with black slates, women's slates, Italian slates, and so forth. That threat should assure sensitivity to minority interests.

It would not make sense to abolish one quota system only to impose another. There have been hints that party leaders may try to guarantee their own participation in the next convention. Many of them were defeated in 1972 delegate contests because they ran under the banner of losing Presidential candidates. They did not enjoy the experience; but even party leaders can get used to democracy.

Another good topic for the Woodcock commission is vote fraud. If it were cited as a specific basis for challenging any delegation, that would be a long step toward making the party honest. The 1972 convention did not deal with the problem of selecting challenge delegations, and it is something the Woodcock commission should face. The same standards of fairness that are used to unseat a delegation should be applied to any delegation that tries to replace it.

Unfair election procedures in 1968 hurt the left wing of the Democratic Party. The unfair procedures that remained in 1972 hurt the right wing and the Center. It is anyone's guess what might happen in 1976. But each faction can best serve its own interest by working for changes that will insure fairness to all. Then, at last, the voters will decide. Not the candidates, not the lawyers, not the young pros or the old pros. The voters. □

AMERICAN ELECTRIC POWER

THE VISIONARY OCTOPUS

WILLIAM H. RODGERS, Jr.
Mr. Rodgers, a member of the faculty of the Law School, University of Washington, is this year Visiting Professor of Law at Georgetown University Law Center.

Donald Cook, president and chief executive officer of the American Electric Power Co. (AEP), has a vision, and it is not unlike the visions of the Guggenheims, Rockefellers and Carnegies before him. Mr. Cook proposes to transform the hundreds of electrical companies in the United States into a dozen or so giant regional monopolies.

Of course there will be victims in this march toward economic efficiency, as there were in the earlier campaigns to monopolize the copper, steel and petroleum industries. The obvious victims are the smaller electrical systems, many of them municipally owned; and as they disappear the accountability to which they are held will disappear with them. For the move to electrical monopoly promises to visit on the public the usual costs of concentrated corporate power: stagnation in research and development, further undermining of a shaky regulatory apparatus, perpetuation of injustices in rate structures, in pollution control, minority employment and plant-siting policies.

Cook's vision is now being acted upon by the giant investor-owned electrical utilities across the nation: between 1955 and 1965 more than 100 of the smaller private systems, along with 150 municipals, were gobbled up through mergers. The trend continues and tactics that have proven successful are continually polished: Southern California Edison trains a cadre of experts to take over municipals and makes contributions to sympathetic politicians; Pacific Gas & Electric Company uses political pull to frustrate the development of generating capacity by municipalities, and sites its plants to perpetuate the company's monopoly position; a group of investor-owned heavyweights in New England conspires to head off regional public power development; the Duke Power Co. resists the construction of federally owned transmission lines that would bring energy to small wholesalers on other than the corporation's terms; the Florida Power Corporation hires a New York public relations firm to assist in takeover campaigns and grooms friendly candidates to run for local public office. The electric monopolists resist proposals for joint ventures, power pools and other such cooperative endeavors that would bring the economies of scale to the smaller, more local systems without eliminating them. Total control is the preferred dogma.

Every electrical giant in the country could learn a few tricks from Donald Cook's own American Electric Power Company, a $2-billion-plus holding company owning virtually all of the common stock of several utilities serving parts of Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia and Tennessee. AEP has more generating capacity, sells more power and creates more pollution than does any other privately owned utility in the country. Over the last several years, it has absorbed many electrical systems in its service area, and more are marked for extinction.

In recent times, while one tentacle of the AEP octopus reached out to strangle the smaller systems, another reached for bigger game—the Securities and Exchange Commission. The SEC is a theoretical obstacle to Donald Cook's theories about electrical monopoly by reason of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, which requires commission approval of the acquisition of any utility by a registered company. Now pending before the commission is an AEP application to acquire 100 per cent of the stock of Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric Co. (C&S), whose system in south-central Ohio adjoins the AEP system, is interconnected with it and is an obvious

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candidate for merger. This would be no small-town takeover, for C&S serves more than one-third of a million customers in about 170 communities, and earns annual electric revenues in excess of $60 million.

The AEP-C&S merger proceedings have supplied vivid but little noticed documentation of the vicious politics on which electrical monopolies are built. The experiences of the city of Danville, Va., are typical. In 1968, the city council voted to build additional generating capacity and to submit a proposed $11 million bond issue for voter approval in 1969. Responding predictably, the local AEP subsidiary (Appalachian Power Co.) invested $4,200 to survey initial reaction to the proposed bond issue, in the process accounting improperly for the expenditures. Upon discovering that the people of Danville favored the proposal by a 3-to-1 margin, the company set about to change their minds with a front group, strategic expenditures and heavy propaganda. The front group was called the New Day for Danville Committee, the expenditures went into the thousands (not all contributed by AEP), the propaganda hit a high point with an ad displaying a hole in the street, coupled with the message: "We need an $11 million generator like we need another hole in Main Street." AEP displayed consistency by accounting for some of its 1969 political expenditures as it did for its 1968 political survey—charging political expenditures as operating expenses means they are paid for by the consumers instead of the utility stockholders.

Danville was forced to drop its expansion plans. The manager of the municipal system reminisces: "This was a carefully planned, well executed campaign of untruths which achieved the desired effect—namely, to cripple the Danville system so as to make it less competitive and more dependent upon the power companies." A complete takeover by AEP should be only a matter of time.

Internal AEP documents disclose how the will of the people is to be bent to the needs of the corporation elsewhere on the company's system. The South Haven, Ind., election plan anticipates the use of volunteers: "Gather a group of capable, loyal women willing to work part-time and be reimbursed if necessary." Taking over the system in Willard, Ohio, requires making friends: "We should consider the free installation of a lighting system for a Little League baseball field in Willard."

AEP's planned "Acquisition of [the] Dover [Ohio] Municipal Electric System" goes into details: "Develop a list of prominent and influential people 'and set them up as a' citizens' committee. The committee would be fed information which they and we mutually feel would be beneficial in selling the citizens on the need for being customers of [AEP]. . . . Throughout the entire plan, develop a special series of public relations ads to imprint an image of [AEP] on the minds of Dover citizens well in advance of actually trying to acquire the system by vote." Another memo advises: "Feed weaknesses . . . to malcontents. . . . Permit this group to present the problems of the system to the Dover Public, undermining present leadership and stirring up general discontent."

AEP soon forgets that the reason for taking over the municipals is to benefit the people. Another company memo on the Dover system discloses that it is in "fairly good condition," pride of ownership is "high," the financial picture "far from poor." The only weakness is a need for more generating capacity. "Unless we prevent the installation," the memo reports, it may be the late 1970s "before we will have another opportunity to obtain additional load" from the city.

The long-run aim is unmistakable: "We believe that by getting our foot in the door at this time through the wholesale of electric energy, we will permit [AEP] to make friends with Dover officials, customers and the public and permit a gradual public relations program that could eventually result in the municipal generating plant being acquired" by AEP. All for the good of the people? AEP acknowledges that the Dover takeover has run into obstacles because the city's domestic rate is "considerably lower than ours." Turning around rate structures that favor small users is one of the "benefits" that accrue from expanding a monopoly.

The C&S merger proceeding before the Securities and Exchange Commission is but a bigger version of the takeover tactics which AEP has refined impressively. Donald Cook used to be chairman of the SEC and he counts on his influence to weather any storms within the agency. But just to make sure, AEP has put the commission through the political wringer reserved for any decision maker standing in the way of the company's idea of technological fulfillment.

The SEC reports that not since the passage of the 1935 act has a holding company system "brought to bear such a massive and concentrated effort to influence and pressure the outcome of an adjudicatory proceeding through means other than on-the-record evidence and cross-examination." The commission has received hundreds of inspired letters and form protests, supporting the merger and submitted in violation of SEC rules designed to protect the administrative process from political sniping. When Louis Roddis, president of New York's Consolidated Edison Co., broke ranks to testify in response to a government subpoena, AEP retaliated directly. Before Roddis' testimony, an irate Donald Cook called two bank-connected directors of Consolidated Edison, asking them to let Roddis know how much Cook resented his testimony. When Roddis nonetheless showed up to testify, he was greeted at the morning recess with a massive subpoena directed at Con Ed and calling for the production of thousands of documents from its files covering a five-year period, including Roddis' unpublished M.I.T. Master's thesis on "Modern Airfoil Theory as Applied to the Design of Wide-Bladed Marine Propellers." (The hearing examiner subsequently quashed most of the subpoena on the ground that it was designed to intimidate and harass.)

As the record before the SEC climbed past 20,000 pages, 100 volumes and 1,000 exhibits, it was clear the commission's forum had become the center ring for testing Donald Cook's theories about electrical monopoly. Years of administrative and judicial appeals lie ahead. Mr. Cook will be working every step of the way to assure that his theories become the law. Public awareness of this planned predation does not guarantee that it won't happen, but the company's planning is that much easier if the victim is unaware of the assassin's intentions. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Say, Is This the U.S.A.?

THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST. *By David Halberstam. Random House. 688 pp. $10.*

BERT COCHRAN
Mr. Cochran teaches at the New School for Social Research. He is the author of Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency *(Funk & Wagnalls).*

David Halberstam belongs to the tribe of newspapermen-intellectuals for whose books there has been a growing demand since the insurgency of the 1960s opened the gates to a sizable reading public avid for political criticism. He is one of the more brilliant and informed members of this sub-order, and he is the winner of a Pulitzer Prize for his earlier reports from Vietnam to *The New York Times*. In attempting, however, to be the analyst and critic of an epoch, not merely a chronicler in the manner of Frederick Lewis Allen, he is handicapped by his divided loyalties and by the inchoate character of conventional liberalism as it emerged from its cold-war ordeal.

Halberstam's forebears—the Lincoln Steffens-Fremont Older school of journalists—could achieve integration, coherence and depth in their best writings because they were the products of the confident Progressive Era, when it seemed self-evident to the reformers, riding a popular wave, that the triumph of their ideas would restore the Republic to its pristine state. In contrast, Halberstam is a product of a liberalism that is on the defensive, internally split, and self-conscious about the discrepancy between its rhetoric and its performance. Nevertheless, because of his talent and his connections in the world of power, Halberstam has produced a book that is a glowing example of journalistic history, a genre recently rechristened the New Journalism. *The Best and the Brightest* has a rich texture woven of inside stuff that connects individuals and decisions, anecdotal detail that blows the breath of life into the musty bureaucratese of memo writers, gossip that adds flash and dazzle. But because he is unclear in his own mind about his basic concepts, the book is a failure in terms of offering the answer that he set out to provide to his own question: who and what was responsible for permitting the tragedy of the Vietnamese War to overwhelm America?

David Halberstam's uncertainty is reflected in the very conception and organization of his book. The narrative is built around a series of extended biographical sketches of the principal actors in the drama: Kennedy, Johnson, McNamara, Rusk, McGeorge Bundy, W. W. Rostow, General Taylor, and others. These sketches have been rightly praised. They are informative, perceptive, cogent. We see the person and the milieu in which he works, and the interaction between the two. But the cumulative effect is to tear individuals from their associations, to blur the dependence of political leaders on social and economic power centers, so that it seems reasonable to imagine that had another set of individuals occupied the seats of power, the tragedy could have been avoided. Is that what the author means to say? He tells us that when he began his researches, friends of some of the principals remarked that it was a mistake to dwell unduly on individuals, that the thrust toward war went beyond individuals. Halberstam's comment is that in 1961 the group of men taking power would have argued vehemently against any claim that they could not control events. But what they thought in 1961 or thereafter is clearly not the point. What does Halberstam think? Halberstam's answer, as it is developed in the text, is equivocal.

In many asides and fugitive observations it is suggested that individuals were the determinant. Had Davies and Service not had their careers destroyed, they could have provided "real expertise at a high operational level . . . and it all might have been different." There was no investigation of a possible compromise with Hanoi, "and the reason for this was to be found in the character and outlook" of Rusk. Had Kennedy been less timid in challenging established policies, had Johnson not been obsessed with *machismo,* another story might have been told.

Alongside these, however, there are other observations that suggest that these officials were responding to irresistible pressures. Were they representatives of an upper class, under the sway of its "false consciousness" and guardians of its vested interests? This is hinted at in the sketches of Robert Lovett and McGeorge Bundy. Further, in one aside, Halberstam relates that when Khrushchev came to America in 1959, he told Harriman he would like to meet the real rulers, not just the make-believe ones. When Harriman obligingly rounded up a packet of multimillionaires, it confirmed for Khrushchev that his viewpoint was correct—"which it probably was," says Halberstam. But this thesis, too, is not pursued systematically or seriously. It is simply tossed into the stew pot to enhance the flavoring.

In still other passages Halberstam quotes Emerson's dictum that things are in the saddle, announces that the events he is describing were historically inevitable, that the fault lay in the era, that the spectrum of American attitudes had narrowed to produce a two-party consensus of anti-communism. If the era was responsible, that must mean—unless we assume that history is the creation of a suprahuman design or dialectic—that all of us are responsible. And if every one is responsible, no one is responsible; for the consequence of assigning the blame to the *Zeitgeist* is not to lift the man in the street up to the levels of the ruler but to spare the ruler the necessity for a reckoning. Thus we are confronted not with a lack of theory but an overabundance of theories, all mutually contradictory. That this eclecticism falls short of outright muddle is due to Halberstam's dexterity in the use of qualifiers to avoid getting himself boxed in. The steady, persuasive flow of narrative carries the reader along past crosscurrents and sand bars.

In his efforts to counterpose a course or ethic to the *Realpolitik* of the men in power, Halberstam associates himself with what he calls the Eleanor Roosevelt-Adlai Stevenson wing of the Democratic Party in the struggle of humanists against pragmatists. This introduces another faulty thread into an already flawed pattern. The liberal wing of the Democratic Party in the 1950s was a patchwork coalition whose differences with the conservatives, to the extent that they could be ascertained, were tactical. Liberals accepted the goals and principles of anti-communism just as conservatives did. After all, it was not for nothing that Vietnam came to be called the "liberals' war." To raise an assortment of random caveats and piecemeal reform proposals to the status of a moral philosophy is about as appropriate as

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describing President Nixon as an American Edmund Burke.

Stevenson was a cold-war true believer who campaigned for the Truman-Acheson Korean policy in 1952, and who wrote, just before his death in 1965, that the line had to be drawn in Vietnam as it had been drawn in Korea, else we would be heading toward a new world war. Disregard nuances and differing rhetorical and personal styles, and Stevenson and Acheson appear to be ideological brothers (even though the two could not stand each other). After Kennedy's election to the Presidency, Stevenson's supporters joined up with Kennedy. Who, then, made up the ranks of the humanists? Only after President Johnson's military escalation, only after the rise of a mass anti-war movement, did many of the ADAers and liberal seigneurs turn against the war in Vietnam—some moved by banker's prudence and others by a changed political and moral outlook. Halberstam confuses matters in trying to establish an unbroken line from Franklin Roosevelt through Stevenson to himself. The truth is that the new criticism originated in a break with the recent past, not in a continuation.

Halberstam's first book on Vietnam, *The Making of a Quagmire*, appeared in the spring of 1965 when the teach-ins against the Vietnamese War were beginning. Whatever the book's shortcomings, it had an electrifying effect on a new generation of dissenters. It opened the eyes of a wider public to the sordid activities concealed by official fustian. It was, in effect, a manifesto as well as a study. The present book comes when much of the data has been published elsewhere and the insurgent spirit has exhausted itself. It has necessarily to be judged by scholarly standards exclusively. That is why its deficiencies stand out in bold relief. □

Poet of Absolute Inventions

THE SORROWS OF PRIAPUS. *By Edward Dahlberg. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 237 pp. $6.95.*

GILBERT SORRENTINO

Mr. Sorrentino is a poet and novelist. His latest novel is Imaginative Qualities of Actual Things *(Pantheon); he has recently published a book of verse,* Corrosive Sublimate *(Black Sparrow).*

Let's get it said immediately: Edward Dahlberg is a great writer. It is also true that his work has been beyond criticism, in a very real sense, for the past thirty years. He exists as an enormous, stubborn giant of American letters, largely unread and almost useless to any writer who wishes to learn from him about technique, direction, even position. His prose is as sublime as Donne's gold beaten to "ayery thinnesse." He is a sport, or freak, if you will, of modern literature. It is impossible to take issue with such power, with such consistently beautiful prose. Dahlberg is after a pure design in his work, and he achieves it in book after book. In one of the most astonishing and well-known turnabouts in American literary history, Dahlberg moved from the hard-nosed, gut-bucket school of American realism as displayed in such early books as *Bottom Dogs, From Flushing to Calvary,* and *Those Who Perish,* to the wondrous sonorities and textures of *Can These Bones Live?* and *Because I Was Flesh.* A comparable change would be to imagine the author of *The Grapes of Wrath* writing, some few years later, *Canto LXXXI.* The suggested lab test for the new reader is to read *Bottom Dogs* and, immediately thereafter, *Because I Was Flesh,* two books that mine the same facts yet seem to come from two different men.

Dahlberg's bitterness and sourness are familiar to many readers, as is his scornful treatment of writers whose work offends his sensibilities. His near to comic reactionary positions on anything and everything are equally well known. But what does it matter, after all? Irving Rosenthal, in his neglected *Sheeper,* points out that Dahlberg cannot place two sentences in logical order, that his invective is scrambled, that his scholarship is of the Marx Brothers variety. Yet these are the soft grumblings of a lover, for Rosenthal has nothing but praise for Dahlberg in his essence, because of his style, his pure, breath-taking style. That is something that only the artistic intelligence can supply, and there are only a handful of writers who have it in the required degree. Comically, again, Dahlberg despises most of them—that doesn't matter either. Joyce, Pound, Beckett, to name just three, are men who cheerfully throw out the baby with the bath water so that a twist of phrase, a comma, a particular word may take its place in the sentence to make it sing, or snap like a whip.

You can find no meaning in Dahlberg, none that you can't get from a thousand lesser writers. Mailer is a titanic thinker next to him; your mailman or boss has more enlightened or informed ideas. There is nothing in Dahlberg except his greatness: he is the real thing. We flee in terror from him. The neglect accorded him by the world of fashionable or frivolous criticism is infamous. The pashas of this world seek out "meaning" in an artist's work, as if that were the artist's concern, as if he had any more in his head than the placing of a colon or tinkering with the syntax until the sentence stands forth, shining. There are louts teaching English literature who know more about it and about the world in general than does Edward Dahlberg. But they can't write. So let us creep up on the great unwhispered secret: writers have only a fistful of ideas, most of which have long been unpopular. Joyce was a Jesuit who based his life on an invented aesthetic out of Aristotle by way of St. Thomas; Pound a man whose

BURNT PINE

This land grows a conical rabbinate.
Yet some soft sapling
Studying its prayers glows
Careless hard and inconscient
And in an owl wind lifts
Incandescent promises
Curls tapered tips
Until promiscuous needles take
To frivolous flame: Vermilion.
Only rain
Puts out frittering rage, doused
Acicular tufts smolder:
Sputtering candles
The pine trunk remains
Stiffened, scholarly, nude:
A black pole in pain.

Dan Eneman

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brain was filled with zany ideas about free silver, a Rothschild behind every bank teller, and Westernized Confucianism; Beckett an existentialist who ate Descartes and threw him up mixed with black Irish comedy; Ford thought that knights and kitchen gardens would save the world. And Dahlberg? A man who has made a mythology for himself in the 20th century, one based upon the mythologies and histories of the past, crammed together in disorder, incomprehensible. Yet we read him and read him again. He brings us a world of beauty. ". . . He will sacrifice any meaning however important he may have made it out to be for any flourish or conceit, and he would sell his soul to the devil and mine too for the power to write one unalterably beautiful sentence," says Rosenthal.

Writing of the translation into Italian of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* by Nino Frank with Joyce's assistance, Richard Ellmann says, "Joyce's whole emphasis was again on sonority, rhythm, and verbal play; to the sense he seemed indifferent and unfaithful. . . ." Great writers are great because of the way in which they compose the language. Who reads Shakespeare for his plots, except fools and directors?

This book was originally issued as two volumes, some eleven years apart, *The Sorrows of Priapus* and *The Carnal Myth,* though they were meant to be two sections of the same work. I'm sure Dahlberg is happy to see the book published as it should be, but it makes no real difference now that the sections are together; indeed, it would make no difference if whole chapters were excised, or if chapters from one section were interleaved with chapters from another. Dahlberg has been writing one book, and it is a mark of his pure artistry that his work can ride out and triumph over any manner of assault upon it. *The Sorrows* begins:

> Man must be classed among the brutes, for he is still a very awkward and salacious biped. What shape he will assume in the future is vague. There are many traits of early man he has lost, and it is plain that he is much more given to falsehood, robbery and lawsuits than the primitive. The first two-legged man scratched himself because he had an itch. Men now lie and steal for this pleasure. Primeval natures wallowed without thought, but as soon as men began thinking how pleasant it was to rub themselves and have deliriums from mud, they employed their minds to achieve what paleolithic mankind did without being lascivious.

And *The Carnal Myth* opens:

> The majority of persons choose their wives with as little prudence as they eat. They see a trull with nothing else to recommend her but a pair of thighs and choice hunkers, and so smart to void their seed that they marry her at once. They imagine they can live in marvelous contentment with handsome feet and ambrosial buttocks. Most men are accredited fools shortly after they leave the womb, and these ninnies are always drunk for women. Sometimes they fall into convulsions over a piece of vermilion cloth wrapped about the bodice of a drab, not perceiving they could have just as well taken for a spouse a swath of red material, and for much less expense and trouble. The salacious zany is enticed by a petticoat or the saffron hair of the pard.

The two sections can be scrambled together in any way the reader desires, and still hold their lucidity of design, their quirky beauty. As with great writers generally, Dahlberg's basic unit is the phrase. When he has that, he goes on to the next, until the sentence is fashioned. Make your own connections, he says. If you don't like it, go and read another book. He will not go one step toward the reader, bless him, with his dense yet lucid prose. The reader does the work, Dahlberg is not in show business.

His book is intensely American, although Dahlberg would not be pleased by the suggestion that he has subtle links with such American writers as Pound, Williams, Stevens, and even Gertrude Stein. Only America can produce this sort of uncanny literature, abounding in contradiction. Ideas exist to be exploited, to be forged into glittering sentences. Like these artists, Dahlberg means what he says, but in the terms of art, not "communication." There are no poses in his work to compound his Jewishness: the latter is Biblical, not fashionably urbane in the manner of the wise jokes ground out by Malamud. Dahlberg's statements are absolute inventions, as black paint in a Kline painting is black invented.

American literature is wondrous because of the way in which it confronts the limping and shabby thing that is American experience. Clear in its wild aberrations, its works are executed on a field that must itself be first created. To Europeans, American literature often seems ragged and hysterical because it usually shows only the field it has constructed. Dahlberg has mined and ravaged the literatures of the past, the myths of God knows how many cultures, loony entomologies,

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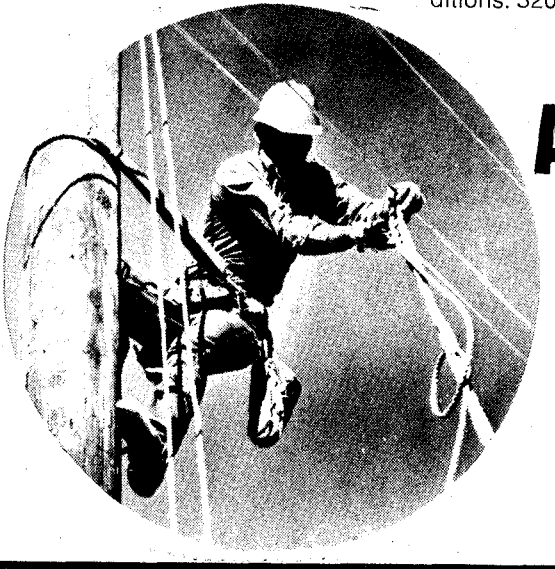

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natural sciences long since discredited, all to make his field, clear himself a space. Now, after a lifetime of work, he stands in it, free to make the sentences that strike us dumb. He means it: he has forced this America in which he has grown to maturity to distill itself in prose that can lay us flat, an artifact fantastically made, much as the stories of Poe were made out of the odds and ends of sickness, horror, and dead women, so as to match the mundane horror that was his life. Dahlberg has eschewed what we laughingly call reality and invented, first, a world, and second, an art to reveal that world.

His work is magnificent in its contours, bursting with the pearls that he has cast before the critical swine during a half-century of arduous labor. Again, his books do not lead us to reality, nor are his opinions worth any more attention than those of Sargent Shriver. But when we read him we are crushed against the stones of his language; his visions of darkness and doom force their way into us. He is neither more nor less than an artist, as pure and unerring and obsessive as Baudelaire or Cézanne. We don't care to have too many of them, here in Oz.

The only thing that you can do with him is read him. He will repay your least attention with his best, i.e., perfection. He's not building housing projects or leading the people, but he is doing what only a very few men in any century can do: making something unimpeachably beautiful. He's 72 now, and the Nobel committee might do worse than award him their prize. It would be one way for them to erase some of their shame for ignoring the late Ezra Pound, another writer who, like Dahlberg, "tried to make a paradiso/terrestre." □

Leftish, Didactic and Inspired

THE REBELLION OF THE HANGED. *By B. Traven. Hill and Wang. 248 pp. $6.95.*

ALAN CHEUSE
Mr. Cheuse teaches literature at Bennington College.

"Every morning brings us the news of the globe, and yet we are poor in noteworthy stories," Walter Benjamin wrote in 1936. Had he noticed the publication of the German translation of B. Traven's *The Death Ship* ten years earlier, he might not have been so certain that the art of telling moral fables was on the wane. For of all the 20th-century novelists who have tried to capture the force and flavor of the oracular tale, few have had more success than Traven.

With the appearance of *The Death Ship,* the enigmatic North American who only three years ago died in self-imposed exile in Mexico City at the age of 79, introduced himself to the readers of the Western world as a first-rate storyteller. In this sometimes transparently innocent narrative, Traven in fact depended as much upon the stories told *to* his narrator (and thus to the reader) as *on* the narrator's own experience, and the entire fiction became a kind of patchwork quilt story of the fortunes of wandering seamen and their battle to survive on the high seas.

Traven perfected this collective method of storytelling to produce his most famous work (though it is perhaps best known for the film that John Huston made of it), the superb *Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* A story of a gold hunt by three down-and-out Gringos stranded in Mexico during the depression, its ambience and impact derive mainly from the subsidiary tales told by various characters and serving as commentary on the main action.

With regard to the quality of the narrative, it is clear that, as old Howard, the experienced prospector of the three, says of his own account of the curse of the mythical Agua Verde mine, it is no mere "weak magazine tale." But though Traven, like Howard, claims to give us "a plain story . . . just as it happened," he does not take the path of naturalism in doing so. *Radix malorum est cupiditas.* Traven's desert rats drool at the mention of gold, not simply because the capitalist system keeps some men empty-handed at the bottom of society in order to keep others rich at the top, but because their souls are flawed.

Only the Indians have a sense of justice and morality in *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* Because of his belief in their innate goodness—a romantic notion that only a great storyteller could overcome—Traven chose to spend the last years of his life writing about the role they played in the Mexican Revolution. In six novels, often referred to as the "Jungle" series, he dramatized the first great movement of the revolution, the 1910 revolt against the dictator Porfirio Díaz. Originally published in Mexico City in the 1950s, four of the "Jungle" novels—*Government, The Carreta, March to the Montería,* and most recently *The Rebellion of the Hanged*—have now been brought out in this country. The current portion of the 1,200-page epic reveals that Traven's narrative gifts remained undiminished toward the end of his life.

The Rebellion of the Hanged centers upon a Tsotsil Indian named Candido Castro who, when he needs money to save his dying wife, indentures himself as a mahogany cutter in the Chiapas jungle. Although his wife dies before he can pay the rapacious doctor for the operation she requires, he is forced to fulfill his contract. Accompanied by his two sons and his sister, he treks to the mahogany plantation where he, his family, and the other workers suffer indignities and tortures under cruel *mestizo* overseers. In scenes reminiscent of the polemical *Huasipungo* by the Ecuadorian Jorge Icaza (in which Creoles ride Indians like horses and the drunken priest rapes the wives of absent workers), Traven depicts the overseers as monsters who hang the woodcutters from branches at night if they fail to meet their daily quota of logs. He portrays as well the mutilation of Castro and one of his sons, and the drowning of the other. As inevitably as the rising waters pour over the lip of a dam, the tormented workers, led by several experienced organizers whom Traven introduced elsewhere in the series, band together, revolt against the plantation owners, and march toward the plain to join the main revolutionary forces.

Traven, like his storytelling characters from the earlier novels, does not hesitate to comment upon these activities. For example, we are told, at the opening of *The Rebellion of the Hanged,* "In the depths of his soul the Indian believes more in the power of his destiny than in that of any god whatever." And, to cite one of the frequent interpolations near the end of the novel, we hear that the men "were proving that they were not just simple strikers but authentic revolutionaries because real revolution does not recognize obstacles." Some readers (D. Keith Mano in *The New York Times Book Review,* for one) have found such moralizing so annoying that whatever pleasure they found elsewhere in the book was dissipated—and for Mano there was not much. David Caute, in his essay, "The Illusion," suggests that didacticism in general is an anachronism in the work of modern writers who pride themselves on being politically progressive. Yet Traven's admirers will recognize that

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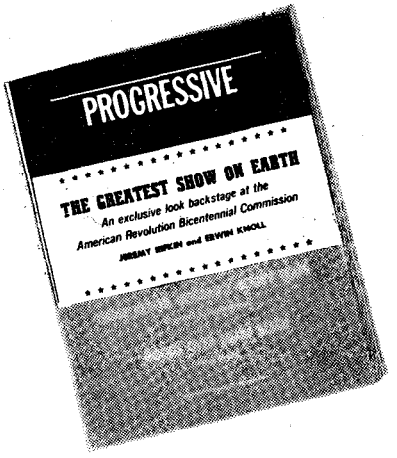
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the personal involvement of the narrative voice in his work is as much a part of the story as is the subject of the narrative itself. Like Azdak, the antique narrator of the fable in Brecht's *Caucasian Chalk Circle*, Traven is a poet, not a historian, and he tells the story of the revolution not "just as it happened" but *as it ought to have been.*

Even if Walter Benjamin was wrong in his gloomy prediction that good tales are on the wane in our world of newspapers and broadcasting, we ought to pay attention to an old prospector like Traven. There won't be many more mornings on which he comes down from the hills to tell us the news in so disarming a fashion. □

Book Marks

CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE EMERGING THOUGHT OF W.E.B. DU BOIS. *Essays and Editorials from* The Crisis. *With an introduction and commentaries and a personal memoir by Henry Lee Moon. Simon & Schuster. 440 pp. $12.95.*

Of the numerous books about Du Bois and collections of his writings that have appeared recently, this one is most likely to survive. It was the writing that Du Bois did for *The Crisis* that first drew attention to his work. Henry Lee Moon, who knew Du Bois well, has shown rare editorial insight in these selections and in pointing up their significance. The volume has not received the attention it deserves. It is must reading for those who seek a realistic guide to Du Bois, his life, his thought, his politics and his writings. I commend it highly.

HARRY BRIDGES: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States. *By Charles P. Larrowe. Lawrence Hill and Co. 404 pp. $8.95. Paper $3.90.*

Good studies of American labor leaders are rare, perhaps because there have been so few who merited close study. Still, the American labor movement has produced a few "giants," and Harry Bridges is certainly one. This is the first in-depth study of Bridges and the rise of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. Apparently Bridges was not pleased with the final product, but since he did not make his specific criticisms known to Mr. Larrowe, it is impossible to pass judgment on them. I can only say that I read the book with great interest and that I agree with Larrowe's summing-up. Bridges is indeed one of the "labor giants." The union with which he has so long been identified is one that few can rival for internal democracy and a sense of the role that a union should play in the wider struggle for social justice. Its record on racial issues, for example, cannot be faulted. So I'm grateful to Mr. Larrowe for this study even if Harry Bridges, for his own reasons, isn't.

MY PRISON. *By Isabel Alvarez de Toledo y Maura, Duchess of Medina-Sidonia. Translated from the Spanish by Herma Briffault. Harper & Row. 169 pp. $6.95.*

A fearless account, by a young Spanish noblewoman, of eight months spent in one of Franco's jails. Included is a section which first appeared in *The Nation* (April 4, 1970). "I have never got along with my world," the Duchess said recently. "I do not understand how people can respond to a painting, to music, to an idea, and yet go into the street and ignore the first beggar who comes up to them. What I want for Spain is total reform—especially agrarian reform—and total freedom for the press and for political parties."

WEST INDIAN SOCIETIES. *By David Lowenthal. Oxford University Press. 416 pp. $15.25. Paper $3.95.*

The Caribbean was the first area to experience the modern problem of race relations. The diversity of groups and wide variations of conditions has made it a laboratory for the study of racial discrimination. In no other Western area were there so few free men and so many slaves; nowhere else save in South Africa has a racially differentiated majority so long endured degradation. Almost 4 million Africans were sold as slaves in the British, French and Dutch Caribbean and yet, when slavery ended there were no more than a million and a half Africans in the West Indies. Long after slavery was formally abolished, the substance persisted. This study is a mine of information about race relations; it could be used as a text on the subject. A special value of the work derives from the rich and abundant archives that Mr. Lowenthal has tapped. A fascinating book.

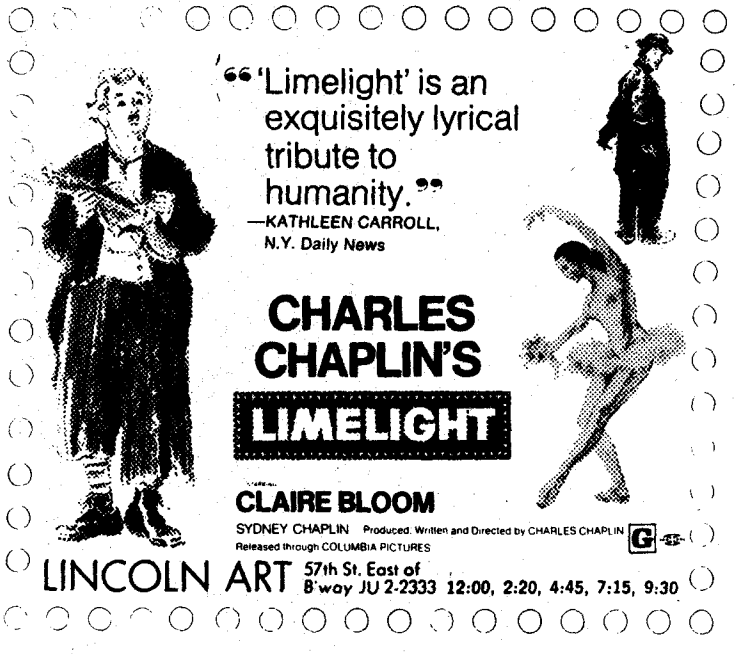
ARE YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN. *By Eric Bentley. Harper & Row. 160 pp. $2.95.*

A condensation of testimony taken by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its 1947-58 investigation of show business, with some fine photographs.

THE STAR-SPANGLED HUSTLE: White Power and Black Capitalism. *By Arthur I. Blaustein and Geoffrey Faux, with a foreword by Rep. Ronald V. Dellums. Doubleday & Co. 287 pp. $7.95.*

A searching investigation of President Nixon's program of "Black Capitalism." Of particular value is the way the authors demonstrate that the program not only failed to achieve its objectives but undermined community political unity and isolated the problems of minority businessmen from those of other disadvantaged peoples. The best summing-up that the program has had or is likely to receive. Blaustein is a *Nation* contributor.

TO BE . . . . *By Harold Flender. Manora Books Inc. 255 pp. 95¢.*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A novel that might be better described as a documentary about the experience of a man who spent eight months in a psychiatric clinic trying to find out why, on three occasions, he attempted to take his own life. Honest, vivid, insightful.

FOREVER OPEN, CLEAR AND FREE: The Struggle for Chicago's Lakefront. *By Lois Wille. Henry Regnery. 175 pp. $7.50.*

A Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter for the *Chicago Daily News* and an occasional *Nation* contributor, tells the long and dramatic story of the struggle to save Chicago's magnificent lakefront. A labor of love by a reporter who has lived with the subject for years and knows every twist and turn of the story.

LE PORTUGAL BAILLONNE: Un témoignage. *By Mario Soares. Translated from the Portuguese by Edouard Bailby. Calmann-Lévy, Paris.*

Eloquent testimony by a distinguished witness now living in exile in Paris of how the Portuguese have been gagged by Salazar's heirs and legatees. The author has written for *The Nation*. This volume should be published here; no better study of the Portuguese dictatorship has appeared.

OSCAR WILDE. *By Kevin Sullivan. Columbia University Press. 48 pp. $1.*

Number 64 in the fine Columbia series, "Essays on Modern Writers," edited by William York Tindall. A most perceptive essay by a valued *Nation* contributor. Of particular interest are the comments on Wilde's political views.

FOR THE FIRST HOURS OF TOMORROW: The New Illinois Bill of Rights. *By Elmer Gertz. University of Illinois Press. 178 pp. $3.45.*

One of a series of volumes published under the title, *Studies in Illinois Constitution Making*. Mr. Gertz, a long-time *Nation* contributor, served as chairman of the Bill of Rights Committee at the Sixth Illinois Constitutional Convention. He tells here the story of the nine-months' effort at the convention to write a modern bill of rights.

THE HURRICANE CREEK MASSACRE. *By Thomas N. Bethell. Perennial Library. Harper & Row. 145 pp. Paper, $1.25.*

An inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the deaths of thirty-eight men in a coal mining explosion in eastern Kentucky on December 30, 1970. A fine piece of investigative reporting by a *Nation* contributor.

RACIAL OPPRESSION IN AMERICA. *By Robert Blauner. Harper & Row. 309 pp. Paper, $3.50.*

A teaching-aid text but well-written, perceptive, and carefully documented. It has some excellent sections, in particular Chapter 7, "The Huey Newton Jury and Voir Dire," and Chapter 8, "Whitewash Over Watts."

O CONGRESS. *By Donald Riegle. Doubleday & Co. 297 pp. $7.95.*

A hard look at Congress by Representative Riegle, a liberal Republican, from Flint, Mich., who was re-elected in November.

THE ECSTASY OF OWEN MUIR. *By Ring Lardner, Jr. New American Library. 272 pp. $1.95.*

When this lively and relevant novel was first issued in 1954, it did not receive the attention it deserved, in part because the domestic witch hunt had not yet subsided. It conveys a fine sense of the atmosphere of the period. I liked it when it first appeared and even better on second reading.

THE TIME OF THE TOAD: A Study of Inquisition in America. *By Dalton Trumbo. Harper & Row. 161 pp. $1.50.*

This contains a reprint of Mr. Trumbo's pamphlet on behalf of the Hollywood Ten, still another pamphlet first published in 1956, and a piece first published in *The Nation*. Mr. Trumbo is an excellent pamphleteer.

THE AMERICAN WORKER: An Endangered Species. *By Franklin Wallick. Ballantine Books. 244 pp. Paper $1.50.*

An excellent account of occupational illnesses among American workers; factual, informative, well-documented.

PUERTO RICO: A Socio-Historic Interpretation. *By Manuel Maldonado-Denis. Translated by Elena Vialo. Random House. 336 pp. $8.95.*

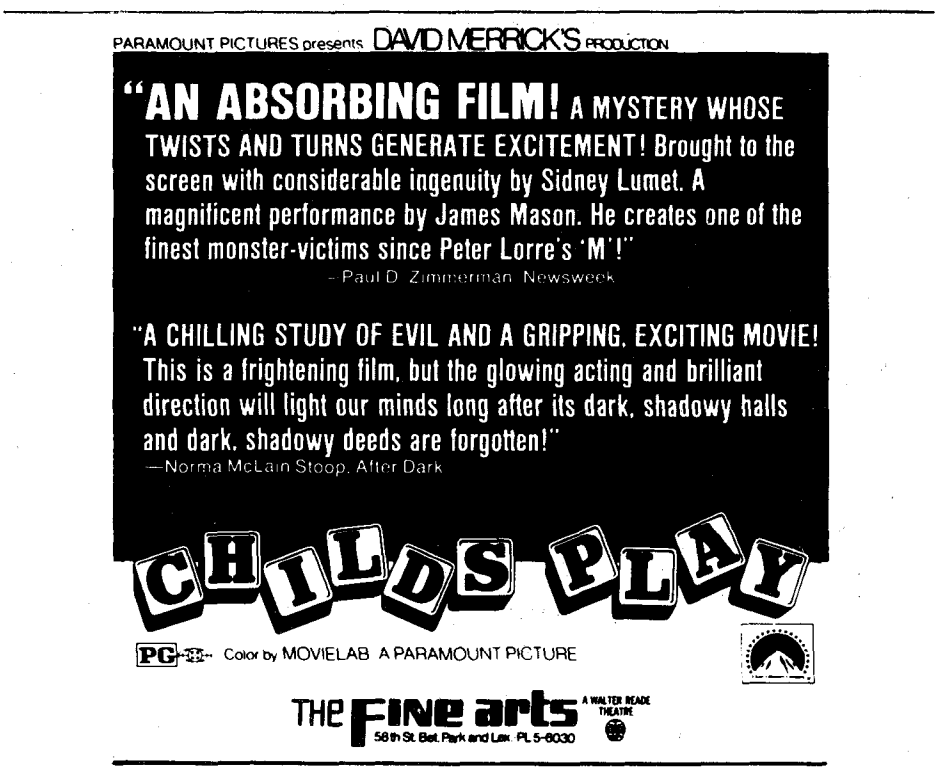
An illuminating study of present-day Puerto Rico. Of particular interest is a chapter on Puerto Rican migration. The author has written for *The Nation.*

BUREAUCRACY AND FOREIGN POLICY. *By Francis E. Rourke. Johns Hopkins University Press. 80 pp. $2.*

This modest study, notably free of academic cant, makes a point of major importance: to leave foreign policy decisions to the President may well mean that foreign policy will serve Presidential rather than national interest. The author is a *Nation* contributor.

THE RELEVANT LAWYERS. *By Ann Fagan Ginger. Simon & Schuster. 447 pp. $9.95.*

An interesting collection of interviews with "relevant lawyers," each having to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do with a specific aspect of the law. It includes interviews on such subjects as: "Political Lawyers and Their Clients" by Charles Garry, "What Happens in Juvenile Court," an interview with Manuel Nestle, and "California Rural Assistance Practice," an interview with Don Kates.

WAR WITHOUT END: American Planning for the Next Vietnam. *By Michael Klare. Alfred A. Knopf. 448 pp. $10.*

First-rate original research on aspects of military planning that have received little attention. Of particular interest is the section on counterinsurgency. The author is a *Nation* contributor.

A QUI APPARTIENT PARIS? *By Claude Bourdet. Editions du Seuil. 349 pp.*

By *The Nation*'s chief European correspondent. Now that he has finished this volume, he should be appearing in our pages more frequently.

PROXMIRE. *By Jay G. Sykes. Robert B. Luce, Inc. 256 pp. $6.95.*

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ONLY VICTIMS: A Study of Show Business Blacklisting. *By Robert Vaughan, with a foreword by Sen. George McGovern. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 355 pp. $7.95.*

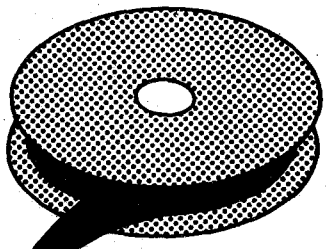
The Man from U.N.C.L.E. turns his attention to the blacklisting that prevailed in the entertainment industry. A good study, carefully researched, with an incomplete but useful bibliography.

THE WAR CONSPIRACY: The Secret Road to the Second Indochina War. *By Peter Scott. The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 238 pp. $7.50.*

Useful documentation on the "secret" aspects of this country's involvement in Indochina, with chapters on Cambodia, Laos, the Tonkin Gulf and Pueblo incidents, CAT and the CIA, and other covert activities. The author is a *Nation* contributor.

BEYOND BABEL: New Directions in Communications. *By Brenda Maddox. Simon & Schuster. 288 pp. $6.95.*

An exploration of the new technologies in communications and their consequences, with good chapters on satellites, cable television, and related developments. A section of the book first appeared in *The Nation.* □



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THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

In 1970, *Oz*, a London underground magazine, got out an issue written by secondary school kids with drawings to match. The three (adult) editors were hauled into court in 1971 to stand trial on the ground that that particular number was indecent, obscene, immoral and especially harmful to children. The text of the trial, edited from the actual legal proceedings at Old Bailey, has been staged as *The Trials of Oz*. To break the possible monotony of such a recital, the performance is interspersed with songs by Buzzy Linhart, Mick Jagger and John Lennon/Yoko Ono (Anderson Theatre, Second Avenue at 4th Street).

The songs, accompanied by a rock combo, are like the language and drawings of the inculpated publication, "raw" —that is, they include four-letter words long taboo in polite society and allusions to sexual practices young people are not supposed to know about or mention. Two or three of these songs are moderately effective, but much less so than those of *Rainbow*, in which all the songs by James and Ted Rado (and there is little else) are given energetic performance by a large cast of rapturously raucous shouters and a really bang-up rock band. (Orpheum Theatre, Second Avenue at 8th Street.)

The Trials of Oz achieves the unusual by being at once interesting and boring; which of the two preponderates depends on the individual spectator. One, to me, interesting item of the evening is a speech by the most articulately intelligent of the three defendants, Richard Neville, very well delivered by Cliff De Young, the talented actor who last season played the blind soldier in *Sticks and Bones*. Neville rises to the challenge of the prosecuting Queen's Counsel who declares that though the editors of *Oz* defend the right of free expression in regard to sex, they never speak of love. Neville replies that love has never been mentioned during the trial because only questions of sex have been raised by the prosecution.

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Love, Neville emphasizes, is in fact the prime force that motivates the young generation in all its protests and confrontations. Love, he says, is what impels the demonstrations against the atom bomb, the war in Vietnam; and it is also on behalf of vilified minorities, the blacks, the Asiatics, the homosexuals, that those who have love at heart have been most clamorous. Even the obscenity of speech so alarming to the Establishment is a way to cleanse love of the shroud of shamefulness with which the middle class persist in besmirching it. It is at this point of the evening that the performance rises above the mere report of an obscenity trial.

What is also interesting to observe, in passing, is the calm decorum in the conduct of the event. The way in which the Q.C. explains the term cunnilingus to the judge and repeats the indicted words employed in the magazine in a manner to remove all erotic or pejorative significance, I find much more laughable than anything else which happens in the court. Two things become apparent. One is that the unruffled deliberation of English justice possesses an eminently honorable humor of its own and, second, that when "unseemly" words are pronounced without any intention of insult, or sensory stimulation, they become entirely nonoperative. And that is what leads to the boredom of the occasion.

As a show *The Trials of Oz* comes too late. It might have had more punch in the 1950s, but the latter-day "revolution of the word" has long since ceased to shock except through its banality, its lack of imagination or heat. How indeed can it shock at a time when our entire society seems to have become disaffected from everything? A world sunk in apathy, while every sort of social, political, physical, moral outrage is a daily occurrence, can hardly be expected to react to the expletives of adolescents who have no vocabulary beyond the vulgar. The obscenity in Rabelais is poetry rooted in a fullness of life, vast in linguistic invention and intellectual application. The currently ubiquitous obscenity tends to kill verbal expression just as everything else nowadays is being destroyed. The failure to be more probing in respect to these issues makes *The Trials of Oz*, for me, almost trivial.

If *Rainbow* appears to rouse its audience to a more immediate response, apart from its rock musical ebullience, is it because it substantiates the last line of its final number, "I don't expect anything good from this life"? The audience seems to revel in this conclusion, rejoicing in the chaos of moral obliteration. Is it just a nervous reflex like the jerk of a leg at a tap on the knee? Is it ecstatic to have been led to feel so little that one can remain at ease in mindlessness?

MOVING DAY

Our lamps sit on the lawn
as though
we lived there we roll

our rugs into documents
of
nothing new this is our last

house before the river we are
leaving
our lives again our radio

keeps playing Music
for
the Royal Fireworks we are

drifting downriver farther
and
farther from it where

are we going into our own
voices
saying go back go back

Jay Meek

The only way to review Neil Simon's new comedy *The Sunshine Boys* (Broadhurst Theatre) may be to copy the quotes culled from the notices in the dailies which are the staples of publicity: "A Joy . . . Extraordinarily Funny . . . A Thousand Laughs! . . . Will Run For Years!" etc., etc.

It is all true: the play is funny. The audience laughs, I laughed, you will laugh. *The Sunshine Boys* are two old-time comedians called upon to appear in one more (and their last) television show as an act of nostalgia for the days of Weber and Fields, Smith and Dale, et al. The tow men admire each other as performers but pretend to despise each other personally. About to be retired to a home for indigent or ailing actors, they will maintain their closeness to the last breath in an exchange of jocose reminiscences and abuse. One is a bumbling solipsist of biting tongue, enormous go and a head full of stage lights. The other is a more prosaic family man, dour and bewildered now that he has been deprived of his professional sport.

The play is not very different from the sketch the two partners once performed to the delight of the nation on stage and TV. Neil Simon manipulates the audience with consummate proficiency: the funny rejoinders are constant, hardly ever missing their mark. It is all like a party at which each of the guests has a "still better" story to tell. There is no repose, no escape from the avalanche of witticisms and absurdities. In this connection, I would not say with Voltaire, "Constant pleasure is no longer pleasure," but I was reminded of it.

Alan Arkin's staging is exactly right. Jack Albertson as the more radiant or frisky of the sunshine fools and Sam Levene as the more morose are both first rate: Levene's heavy-footed, starry-eyed characterization the more detailed and original. Lewis Stadlen as an actors' agent is also excellent. About show biz and of show biz, *The Sunshine Boys* is tops. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Our view of the 19th century is exploding. Its art history is no longer restricted to a narrow account of the course of French realists and French Impressionists seen as the heroes of modernity engaged in battle with a tyrannical academy. It is now possible to take a European-wide view of the century in which the French receive more company than they welcome: German romantics, the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the school of Munich. Not only this, but the academy itself is yielding artists of considerable interest. Already J-L. Gérome is regarded as a brilliant painter instead of merely a prurient academic. These two shifts of attention, by which once peripheral national schools are re-examined and the old line between advanced and academic art dissolved, lie behind "Ottocento Painting," an exhibition originated by the Columbia Museum of Art, Columbia, S.C., and which was on view at the New York Cultural Center until New Year's Eve. I wish I had reviewed it sooner. A traveling show, its next stop will be at the originating institution, but it will be back in the East at the Haydon Gallery, M.I.T., from May 5 to June 15.

Italian 19th-century painting, whether academic or independent, is among the least known of national schools. The current exhibition traces the succession of styles from Neo-Classicism through several forms of realism to the Florentine Macchiauoli (the only familiar group and one poorly shown in this collection) and later genre painting. There are no major works in the show, which relies largely on small works and sketches, but even these considerably reduce our ignorance. The works are all taken from American collections and

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according to Annie-Paule Quinsac, who made the selections and wrote the catalogue, the preference for small works and sketches represents American taste of the period.

Incidentally, the freely handled oil sketch is one of the bridges between academy and *avant-garde*. Albert Boime points out in *The Academy and French Painting in the 19th Century* (1971) that the *avant-garde*'s manual freedom has its roots in long-term academic theory and practice concerning the self-sufficiency of the sketch. The notion that academic art is synonymous with tight finish turns out to be quite untenable. In the present show, among the "academics" with free, porous brushwork, are Francesco Paulo Michetti (Neapolitan), whose impacted forms emerge through a flutter of paint; Giacomo Favretto and Ettore Tito (both Venetian); and Giovanni Boldini (Ferrarese but international in affiliation). It is clear that painterliness was common ground, and not the possession of one competitive group.

The catalogue contains useful information on this unfamiliar area (how many Americans know what the School of Posillipo was, for instance?), but it is sometimes hard to get at. The knowledgeable organizer is somewhat amateur and a great deal of her text is not quite in English. "The technique is precise but traditional, the brushwork apparent and minute," she observes apropos of "Carrubbo Morte," a view of the Bay of Naples by Vincenzo Caprile, a late worker in the landscape style of the School of Posillipo. Miss Quinsac goes on to write: "The device of the dying tree in the foreground suggests depth. The composition is the only original element in the painting." The first sentence is jejune, the second schoolmarmish. If the neglected painters whom she admires are to be rehabilitated, commentary on them will need to be less quaint and obsolete than hers. My own view of Caprile's painting is that it successfully combines the stereoscopic with the formal. There is a pinpoint tactility of detail in the dead tree combined with the blur of heat haze in the receding coast, and the two spatial zones are bound together by a tough brilliance of color.

The rediscovery of academic painting is not a form of camp but the outcome of a number of converging interests. One approach, which began with Mario Praz's *The Romantic Agony*, examines 19th-century literature and art with an eye for bizarre erotic content. The Italian edition, called originally *La Carne, la Morte e il Diavolo nella Letteratura Romantico*, was published in 1930, and Philippe Jullian's pop book, *Dreamers of Decadence*, published in 1971, is the latest application of its ideas. The main Italian artist in this vein, unfortunately missing from what Miss Quinsac calls "the anti-realist currents of the last decades," is Giulio Aristide Sartorio. Praz has contributed in another way to the foundations of the academic revival: in *The Hero in Eclipse* (1956) he studied the interconnection of 19th-century fiction and the tradition of genre painting. His interest in possible correspondences between visual art and verbal form is characteristic of postwar interdisciplinary studies. In terms of art criticism, this current of opinion shows itself not in polishing the apple of art's autonomy but in speculation on art's communicative means and on parallels with the other arts.

The function of genre painting could not be recognized by early 20th-century critics concerned with putting art into a purely visual framework and hence scornful of "literature" and "anecdote," as human traces were called. Scenes of daily life provided artist and audience alike with non-erudite topics—that is, with a range of intimate and topical subjects (like the movies). In the Ottocento exhibition are pictures of children's games (G. Chierici) and inter-generational contact (L. Berchi, Luigi Zuccoli) which draw on common experience; and there are retrospective 18th-century subjects (Gerolamo Induno) and scenes of modern life (De Nittis and, incidentally, Boldini, who painted both rococo and modern subjects). Genre subjects contract the duration of time to a momentary gesture, but the moment is filled with a web of precise information about objects, people, events. The awareness of ever smaller units of time, and their depiction not in terms of alienated sensibility but of recognition, was a remarkable achievement. It is perhaps one of the rewards of a reawakened attention to such paintings now that we have a realist revival of our own.

Two results of the new realist painting of the past few years are these: (*1*) Realism has gained recognition as one of the options for a contemporary artist; previously it was considered inferior to abstract and geometrical forms of art. (*2*) Recent realism has alerted us to the problems and achievements of past realist styles without the prejudices that marked 19th-century realist criticism. Since the 19th century was the first period in which artists experienced the phenomenon of multiple stylistic choice, it is appropriate that it should be reassessed in the light of our own experience of proliferating styles. □

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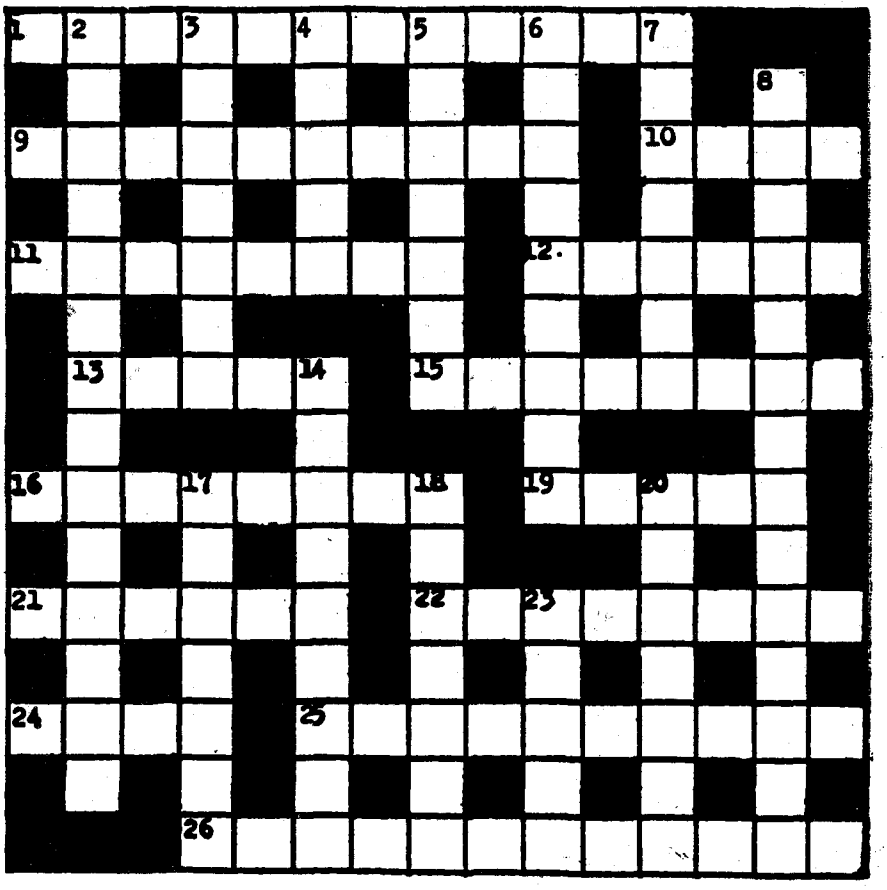
Crossword Puzzle No. 1471

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The baby-sitter might be so remembered. (6,2,4)
9 If you don't like the Venetian type naturally you might want to, but a man might blame his mother's father for being so. (5-5)
10 One way to make impossible wrapping. (4)
11 No side approached the wrong way, for example. (8)
12 On this side of the Atlantic, an ad admittedly contains it. (6)
13 One might have spoken Proto-Indo-European. (5)
15 Possibly one invader of England provides direction in another. (8)
16 Does it offer the choice of publicity in bringing one into the family? (8)
19 Acts like certain gray and white songbirds or apes. (5)
21 and 23 down A gardener wouldn't necessarily frown on it just because of a soft spot. (1,3,2,5)
22 One of these, when old, seemed to have only a .333 fielding average. (8)
24 Animal successfully handled by Martin Luther? (4)
25 First of Edward's needs for leaping, wading, or deep drilling. (10)
26 The remainder, not so much where the moster is supposed to hide, shows one one isn't still with it! (2)

DOWN

2 Vaguely positioned in both part and all of the match. (6,3,5)
3 And vaguely positioned in French and English towns. (7)
4 Something which every day might be made up with it is certainly not to one's credit. (5)
5 Athenian literary circle? (7)
6 Fraudulently coined, with the spirit of improper behavior. (9)
7 Fed up, and seen to be otherwise as a matter of protection. (7)
8 Stick rates? They're not officially sanctioned. (7,7)
14 Broken lines fail to make the end of the digit neater. (9)
17 One probably doesn't have a fixed business (7)
18 There's an insignificant part of venom in a leech. (7)
20 Can you make it hold? I cannot! (7)
23 See 21 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1470

ACROSS: 1 Puddled; 5 Assurer; 9 Reapers; 10 Strafes; 11 and 24 Sandstones; 12 and 13 Vanguard; 14 Longbow; 16 Cézanne; 21 Manager; 27 Crisp; 28 Orioles; 29 Insider; 30 Noticed; 31 Fedoras. DOWN: 1 Parasol; 2 Drawn in; 3 Leeks; 4 Disavow; 5, 26 and 18 across Arsenic and Old Lace; 6 Sprig; 7 Refrain; 8 Residue; 15 and 17 Brazen; 18 Outworn; 19 Dentist; 20 Elapsed; 21 Midriff; 22 Guilder; 23 Reports; 25 Salic; 27 Cased.

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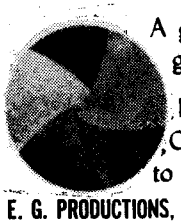

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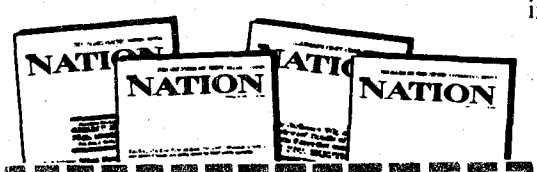

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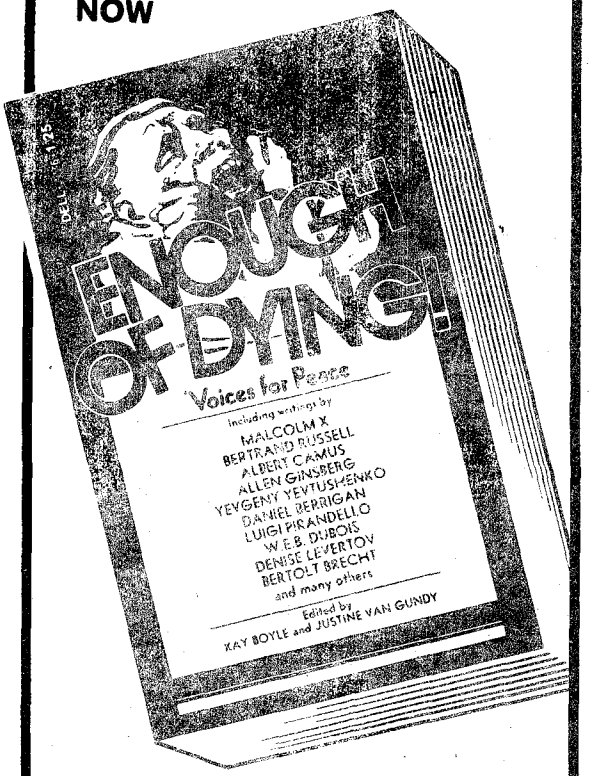

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